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ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ Η ΕΝ ΑΥΛΙΔΙ.

THE  
IPHIGENEIA AT AULIS  
OF  
EURIPIDES.



ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ Η ΕΝ ΑΥΛΙΔΙ.

THE  
IPHIGENEIA AT AULIS  
OF  
EURIPIDES

EDITED WITH  
INTRODUCTION AND CRITICAL AND  
EXPLANATORY NOTES

BY

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## PREFACE.

I BEGAN this edition five or six years ago, in the hope that I might be able to clear away some of the obstacles which perplex all readers of what is still a most attractive drama. Though I cannot say that this hope became stronger as the work went on, I have certainly felt more and more the attractiveness of the subject. If the task has turned out harder than I expected, it has at the same time come to seem more worth doing.

On the general question of the state of the text and its possible history I have no original views to propound. All I have tried to do is to ascertain and weigh the views of others, and to arrive by selection at what seems to me the most probable hypothesis. This is, speaking generally, that the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* was left by Euripides in too unfinished a state to be put on the stage: that the man or men who prepared it for such representations not only added passages at the end and in the body of the play, but rearranged the prologue: and lastly that of small casual interpolations of a later date the text of this tragedy contains an exceptionally large share. For further details under this head I must refer the reader to my introduction and commentaries. My original contributions have been confined to attempts at the emendation and elucidation of particular passages, and for these likewise I must refer to the Critical and Explanatory Notes.

How largely this edition is based on the foundations laid by many generations of Greek scholars will be evident on every page. My indebtedness to Prof. G. Vitelli of Florence, however, calls for special acknowledgement. His collation of the Laurentian MS., to say nothing of the discussions in his *Osservazione*, or his edition of the tragedy, have been of constant and invaluable assistance to me.

I also here take the opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Monsignor Ciccolini, the Chief Librarian of the Vatican Library, for the facilities which he with great courtesy afforded me for collating the Palatine MS.: as well as to Prof. J. Strachan of this College, for his kindness in reading through my proof-sheets. But for the suggestive criticisms of the latter, and, I must add, but for the vigilant supervision of the authorities of the Cambridge University Press, this book would be far more imperfect than it is.

E. B. ENGLAND.

THE OWENS COLLEGE,  
*June, 1891.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface . . . . .	v
Introduction : <i>Outline of the Action</i> . . . . .	ix
<i>Dramaturgy</i> . . . . .	xii
<i>Minor Scenes</i> . . . . .	xiv
<i>Characters</i> . . . . .	xv
<i>State of the Text</i> . . . . .	xvi
<i>Time of Production</i> . . . . .	xxxix
<i>The Manuscripts</i> . . . . .	xxxii
Text and Notes . . . . .	I
<i>Appendix</i> . . . . .	155
Index to Greek words discussed in the Explanatory Notes . . .	163
Index to Subjects discussed in the Explanatory Notes . . .	168

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΣ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ.

ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΡΑ.

ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ.

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ.

[ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ.]\*

[ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.]

\* See Critical Note on *v.* 855.



## INTRODUCTION.

THERE is no tragedy of Euripides that has in recent times so severely exercised critical ingenuity as the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*. On few Greek plays have more or longer disquisitions been written. As these disquisitions have dealt in the main with the imperfections of parts of the text, its editors would seem to have claimed for it the same sort of respect that Dogberry does for himself when he says he is "a fellow that hath had losses". Its notoriety however was not always of this unenviable kind. The tone of references in ancient authors shows the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* to have been among the best known and best liked of Greek tragedies, while in modern literature and art it is linked in various ways with such names as Erasmus, Racine, Glück, and Schiller. We may conclude therefore that in it we have a work of excellence and beauty, and if we can discover these first, the main outlines, as it were, of the picture will not be obscured by our perplexity about some of its details. At the same time we shall be more willing to give some effort to the consideration whether any of these difficulties can be removed.

It will be well then in the first place to turn a deaf ear to the discordant voices of the critics—to pass by all disputed points in the attempt to get a clear idea of the play as we have it—its main action, its personages, and the character of its principal scenes.

### *Outline of the Action.*

The action opens at Aulis, on the Boeotian coast of the Euripus, where has assembled the Greek force that is to sail to Troy. The object of the expedition is to recover Helen and punish the barbarian who has carried her off. Though the Greek fleet has found at Aulis a convenient meeting-place, and a safe anchorage, further progress has

been made impossible by the want of a favourable wind. In the midst of the growing impatience of leaders and men alike, the seer Calchas has revealed to Agamemnon, the chief commander, and his two principal advisers, Menelaus and Odysseus, that they have incurred the displeasure of the goddess Artemis, whose temple stands at Aulis, and that she will keep them where they are till her wrath is appeased: that moreover this can only be done in one way: Agamemnon must sacrifice at the altar of the goddess his eldest daughter Iphigeneia. On first hearing this, Agamemnon refused to make the sacrifice, and resolved to abandon the expedition, but Menelaus and Odysseus over-persuaded him, and at the suggestion of Odysseus he sent for his daughter to come to him, telling her mother Clytaemnestra that he wished to give her in marriage to Achilles. As the day of her arrival approaches Agamemnon's mind shrinks afresh from the dreadful deed, and it is at this juncture that the play begins. He sends while it is still night an old household attendant, with a letter to his wife, countermanding his previous orders. This letter is intercepted by Menelaus, and at *v.* 317 the dispute between the two brothers begins again. In the end the sight of Agamemnon's grief seems to recall his brother's better feelings (*v.* 477): he is willing to renounce his claim, but Agamemnon here shows the impotence of an irresolute and feeble nature to renounce a pursuit once engaged in. He knows too that Odysseus and the army will not allow him to draw back now that he has gone so far. His own love of power and high position, to which his brother has skilfully appealed, concurs with this fear to drive him onwards. Accordingly he makes up his mind anew to proceed with his original plan. He meets his wife and daughter when they arrive, and though incapable of mastering his emotion, conducts them to his tent without betraying his purpose.

At *v.* 801 a fresh turn is given to the action by the appearance of Achilles on the scene. The new-comer knows nothing of the necessity of the sacrifice, or of the artifice in which his name has been used to lure Iphigeneia to Aulis. He comes full of impatience, to remonstrate, somewhat unreasonably, with Agamemnon on his continued inaction. The first person whom he meets before the general's tent happens to be Clytaemnestra. His surprise at finding who she is, is increased when she salutes him as her destined son-in-law. The intervention of the old attendant (who had been intrusted with the second letter) reveals to both their true position, and the dreadful fate which Iphigeneia's father is preparing for her.

Clytaemnestra then turns to Achilles as her only hope, and goes

on her knees to him to beg his protection. Achilles is moved both by indignation at the use that has been made of his name, and by pity for the helpless girl and her mother. He recommends the latter to try first by entreaties to dissuade her husband from the sacrifice, but promises that if she fails in this he will as a last resource use his own right hand to defend Iphigeneia from death.

Then follows a meeting between Clytaemnestra and Agamemnon, who has come to fetch his daughter for the sacrifice. Finding that his wife knows all, he attempts no further dissimulation. Neither the reproaches of his wife nor the prayers of his tearful daughter,—who comes on the scene at *v. 1210*,—can move him. He says he has not the power to draw back : it is a national question : his daughter must be sacrificed to the interests of Hellas. At this juncture Achilles returns with some of his men, prepared to redeem his pledge. He knows that the army is against him, but he tells Clytaemnestra that he and his handful of men will brave Odysseus at the head of the whole force sooner than let Iphigeneia be carried off. At this point comes the turning-point of the tragedy. The heroine has formed within her own breast, while listening to her mother and Achilles, the resolution to give herself willingly to death for the good of her nation, and to prevent a hopeless struggle between her brave defender and the relentless army. It is as if the loyal self-devotion of her champion had roused in her the desire to do likewise. *She* will be the champion of the women of her nation against barbarous ravishers. Thanks to her, no Greek woman shall again be carried off as Paris carried off Helen. In this decision the sorrowing mother is forced to acquiesce, and so is Achilles, though he renews his offer to die if necessary, in her defence:—he will be near till the end in case her resolution should falter. This is the natural expression of his growing admiration of the heroine. She had been called his bride, and he now regrets feelingly that she will not be his bride in reality, when he says (*vv. 1404 ff.*) :

Ἀγαμέμνωνος παῖ, μακάριόν μέ τις θεῶν  
ἔμελλε θήσειν εἰ τύχοιμι σὼν γάμων.  
ζηλῶ δὲ σοῦ μὲν Ἑλλάδ', Ἑλλάδος δὲ σέ'.

<sup>1</sup> There are some points of similarity between the position of Achilles in this play and that of the lover of the Virgin Martyr in Massinger's play of that name. With the Greek passage given above we may compare Antonio's words in Act IV. sc. 3, when Dorothea is being led to

execution :

She ascends,  
And every step raises her nearer heaven.  
What god soe'er thou art that must  
enjoy her  
Receive in her a boundless happiness !

The time has now come for the sacrifice, and when Iphigeneia quits the stage it is to go to death, and the chorus who are left sing her praises as the real champion of Hellas, the real taker of Troy. Schiller in his translation breaks off with Iphigeneia's parting words of farewell to life as she leaves the stage. All dramatic action, he truly says, closes here.

The play as we have it concludes with an epilogue in which a messenger describes to Clytaemnestra the scene of the sacrifice, and tells how, when the fatal blow had been struck, it was discovered that the immolated body was not that of the princess, but of a doe. The question of the authenticity of this passage will be discussed elsewhere. All that need be said here is that it is important to remember that the religious character of a Greek dramatic exhibition, and the special partiality of Euripides for a complete setting or framework for his subjects, are conditions which make it probable that the tragedy would not end merely, as a modern drama would, with the triumph of human courage and virtue, but would also indicate how the claims of the superintendent divinity were satisfied, and her approbation secured.

### *Dramaturgy.*

Such then is the story. If we now turn to the method of its dramatic representation we shall find three turning-points in the action: viz.

1. The decision of Agamemnon to proceed with the sacrifice (vv. 510 f.):
2. The discovery by Clytaemnestra, her daughter, and Achilles that the sacrifice is intended:
3. Iphigeneia's resolution to die of her own accord.

Two classifications may conveniently be made of the *dramatis personae*. The first hangs on the question, are they or are they not aware from the beginning of the impending catastrophe? There are three who do know the fate that overhangs the heroine: Agamemnon, Menelaus and the old Attendant. The three who do not are Clytaemnestra, Iphigeneia and Achilles, and it is their discovery of it at v. 873 in the third scene of the third *ἐπεισόδιον* which forms the second *περιπέτεια*, or turning-point, of the play.

The second and more important classification has reference to the



disposition of mind with which the personages regard the sacrifice. Menelaus and Agamemnon decide to bring it about. Clytaemnestra, Iphigeneia, Achilles and the old Henchman regard it with horror, and are prepared to do their best to avert it. This division then, is not, like the former, an equal one: there are two on one side, and four on the other. But at *v.* 1368, in the 6th scene of the *ἔξοδος*, Iphigeneia, the most nearly concerned of all, deserts the larger party and ranges herself with her father and her uncle. This transition forms the supreme crisis of the tragedy.

Connected with the three *περιπέτειαι*—Agamemnon's decision, Clytaemnestra's discovery, and Iphigeneia's self-sacrifice—are four main scenes by which the action of the drama is advanced. The first is the 2nd scene of the first Epeisodion—*v.* 317—542 (assuming, as it will afterwards be shown we may, that the scene with the messenger, *v.* 414—441, is spurious), in which Agamemnon and Menelaus argue, the former against, the latter for the sacrifice. The disputants here have no great earnestness of tone. There is an almost unseemly eagerness shown on both sides, not so much to convince the opponent, as to make a telling answer. A fit end to such a scene is the (perhaps feigned) renunciation by Menelaus of his pursuit and the corresponding change of front on the part of his brother. Agamemnon ends by making up his mind to do what he has all along been arguing that he could not and ought not to do, just when his brother ceases to press him to do it.

Next of the four comes the scene following on the 2nd *περιπέτεια*:—the fourth scene of the third Epeisodion—*v.* 896—1035. In this Clytaemnestra appeals to Achilles for help, and the appeal calls forth ready sympathy in the true-hearted warrior. There is no want of earnestness in this scene, but it has no conclusive issue. Achilles promises his help in the last resort, but bids Clytaemnestra first try by words to shake her husband's determination<sup>1</sup>.

The third main scene—technically two scenes; the 2nd and 3rd of the Exodus—*v.* 1106—1275—is that in which Agamemnon is brought face to face with his wife and daughter. The wife is unable by her reproaches, the daughter by her tearful prayers, to shake his

<sup>1</sup> This unexpected recommendation of Achilles seems to be due to dramatic necessity. As both mother and daughter appear in the play, *both* of them must have the opportunity of trying to shake Agamemnon's resolution. If either of

them did not do so, it would produce the impression that she had not the matter so much at heart as the other. It would be foreign to the nature of Greek Tragedy that both should try at once.

purpose. Clytaemnestra's language is here less impassioned than in the preceding scene, when she was under the full excitement of her new discovery, but it is more dignified. For the purposes of the action this scene is more important than the preceding. The alternative there left open—was the sacrifice to be averted by persuasion or force?—is here settled. Persuasion has done its utmost in vain.

Fourthly, in the 5th scene of the Exodus—*vv.* 1368—1466—we have Iphigeneia's resolution to sacrifice herself, and the justification from her own lips of the purpose, which throughout the play has given rise to such anxious discussion, and heated dissension,—thus putting an end, in the only way possible, to both.

#### *Minor Scenes.*

We have now reviewed the three turning-points in the action, and the scenes which form, as it were, the steps by which it proceeds. If we read these four scenes by themselves, we feel that we have had too much debating. But we are not left with these alone. In the pauses of the action come scenes which though not directly affecting the developement of events, are of the first importance as revelations of the characters of the interlocutors. Of these there are two which I think dwell in our minds more than any others in the play. The first is the stichomuthia between Agamemnon and Iphigeneia on their meeting—*vv.* 640—677. The second is the meeting of Achilles and Clytaemnestra at *vv.* 819—854. It would be hard to find, in any drama whatever, two characters portrayed with more vivid individuality than are those of Iphigeneia and Achilles in these two short scenes. In the former the heroine's tender playfulness makes dissimulation an evident torture to her father, while it heightens for the spectator the pathos of her fate. In the latter we cannot witness without sympathy, nor altogether without amusement, the "biting jest" of which Fortune makes the stately queen the butt. Both the queen's chagrin and the humour of the situation are heightened by the fact that it is Achilles who inflicts the rebuff. All men looked up to this heaven-born prince, and Clytaemnestra was specially inclined to credit him with every virtue of conduct and demeanour. He shows in this scene, it is true, a little brusqueness and impatience, but though blunt he is not discourteous. In such company, and dealt by such a hand, the full force of the blow to the queen is clearly felt. Like Malvolio, she has indeed been "most notoriously abused".

*Characters.*

Notwithstanding the elaboration and distinctness of these several scenes the art of the poet never allows us to forget the central figure, and so arranges the supreme crisis in her lot, that her sacrifice serves as the touchstone to reveal the true character of all the personages in the drama. From all consideration of separate incidents and characters we turn again to the heroine, only to find her image more perfectly winning, more wonderfully noble. Each in its way the several characters are a foil to that of Iphigeneia. Even Achilles, who has in him the stuff that makes the manly ideal alike of ancient, mediæval, and modern society, who is the first (*vv.* 1404 ff.) to sympathize with the heroine's noble aspirations, who is high-souled, strong, and generous, seems harsh by the side of her tenderness. The inordinate share which a sense of personal indignity has with Achilles in determining him to act in the heroine's defence (*cf.* *vv.* 935—942), shows a weakness to which there is no counterpart in the heroic self-abandonment of Iphigeneia.

Clytaemnestra has a strong and true love for her daughter, but it is a narrow and self-regarding affection as compared with Iphigeneia's love for her father and her country—a blind passion of a character whose subsequent faithlessness to her husband balances her true-hearted love to her child.

Of Agamemnon, as he appears in this play, it must be allowed that his wife gives a true description when at *v.* 1012 she says *κακός τίς ἐστι καὶ λίαν ταρβέει στρατόν*. He is a poor creature in a desperate situation. Whereas Iphigeneia's first impulse to save herself (*vv.* 1211—1252)—which no less a critic than Aristotle<sup>1</sup> has blamed as inconsistent with her later conduct—gives way to an enthusiastic self-devotion, her father's inconsistencies are all between good impulses and base action. He loves his daughter, but is incapable of renouncing his high position to save her. It is not the glory and honour of Greece, but fear of the consequences to himself that induces him to abandon his daughter to her fate. It is a marvellous 'touch of nature' that Iphigeneia, unlike her mother, is blind to Agamemnon's faults. To her he is an ideal father. Her love for him speaks in her intercession for him with Clytaemnestra at *vv.* 1456 and 1458; and her mention of him when she first reveals her determination to die (at *v.* 1369) shows us that love for her father, and a clear perception of his desperate situation, have had their part in forming her decision.

<sup>1</sup> *Poetics* c. 15, p. 1454, 31 a.

As to Menelaus, he is cool and crafty in the pursuit of his object—the recovery of his wife and the punishment of her lover. It is open to doubt, but I think his renunciation of his claims at *vv.* 471 ff. is meant by the poet to be only a simulated one. The suddenness with which he admits the force of the arguments he has just been combating, and the artful suggestion at *v.* 495—ἴτω στρατεία διαλυθεῖσ' ἐξ Αὐλίδος—of the consequences of the abandonment of the pursuit—and at *v.* 498 of Agamemnon's interest in the expedition—εἰ δέ τι κόρης σῆς θεσφάτων μέτεστί σοι—all point to the conclusion that he sees his brother is but half-hearted in his protest, and that all that is needed to decide him to sacrifice his daughter is that he should be brought face to face with the alternative. Such a character is consistent with the picture of Menelaus which Euripides gives of him in the *Andromache* and in the *Orestes*. It is natural too that such should be the character in Euripides of the king of that people of whom he wrote at *Andromache vv.* 446 ff. that they were

δόλια βουλευτήρια,  
 ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν,  
 ἐλκτὰ κοῦδὲν ὑγίης, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέριξ  
 φρονοῦντες.

It has been held by many that in the *Bacchae*, which like the *Iphigenia Aulidensis* was a work of the last days of the poet, Euripides had the special object of vindicating his belief in the supernatural against a charge of infidelity. It is well known that he had been called a woman-hater as well as an infidel by his contemporaries. Is it not possible that he designed in this other work of his old age to show the world that, in his fancy at least, a woman might be perfect?

#### *State of the Text.*

Having thus attempted to show that in the Euripidean *Iphigeneia at Aulis* we have a great subject nobly treated—that the arrangement of the plot and the elaboration of the main scenes reveal consummate dramatic art—I now propose to consider what are the indications that the play as we have it has suffered something more than the usual 'wear and tear' of literary transmission.

The two manuscripts on which we depend for our text are No. 287 of the Palatine manuscripts in the Library of the Vatican, which I follow Prinz in calling P (Kirchhoff's *B*), and No. 32, 2 in the Laurentian Library at Florence, Prinz's L (Kirchhoff's *C*). Both of these MSS. appear to have been copied from the same original, and to



date from the 14th century. The play was first printed in the Edition of Aldus published in the year 1503, which contained all the extant plays of Euripides with the exception of the *Electra*. Numerous translations and adaptations to the modern stage attest the interest which the tragedy has aroused in modern times<sup>1</sup>. Till a little more than a hundred years ago no one seems to have suspected that the Greek text did not give us the play as it was left by Euripides. Since the publication in 1761 however of Musgrave's *Exercitationes in Euripidem*, the authenticity of large portions (and even of the whole) of the play has been repeatedly called in question. Musgrave was the first to direct attention to the following passage of Aelian *Hist. Anim.* vii. 39 :

ἐλαφον δ' Ἀχαιῶν χερσὶν ἐνθήσω [φίλαις<sup>2</sup>]  
κεροῦσσαν, ἣν σφάζοντες αὐχρῶσιν σὴν  
σφάζειν θυγατέρα.

It was the attempt to conjecture in what part of the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* this quotation occurred, that gave the first impulse to a far-reaching sceptical criticism of the text. It was clear from the first that no place could be found for such lines as these in any part of our present text. Musgrave's own attention was directed to the irregularity in the construction of the prologue as compared with those of other Euripidean plays, and he expressed the belief that the lines quoted by Aelian come from a lost prologue spoken by Artemis to an imaginary auditor (*i.e.* one not present on the stage)—either Agamemnon or Clytaemnestra. Musgrave does not suspect our present opening of being spurious, he

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus published a Latin translation of it (and the *Hecuba*) in 1524 which was frequently reprinted, especially in Italy: Ludovico Dolce about 1540 published an Italian version, which though not a literal translation followed the lines of the story and action of the Greek. Thomas Sibilet translated it into French in 1549. From the same century date two German translations, one by Ch. H. Postellus and one by Baptista de Rochlitz 1584. An adaptation of the tragedy to the French stage was made by Rotrou in 1641, and in 1675 Racine founded upon it his *Iphigénie*. In the same year another tragedy of the same name was produced by MM. Le Clerc and Coras. In 1700 an Italian translation by Maggi

was published at Milan, and in the same year an *Iphigeneia at Aulis* was produced at Drury Lane. An Italian translation with notes of the two *Iphigeneia*'s, by Padre Dom. Giambbatt. Carraciolo, was published at Florence in 1729, an unpublished Italian translation by A. de Pazzi is also mentioned. About 1764 appeared a translation in blank verse by the Italian Lorenzo Guazzesi, and Glück's opera *Iphigénie en Aulide* was produced in Paris in 1774. I have not here mentioned any translation of the whole of Euripides.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot believe that *φίλαις* is the right word here. Wecklein suggests *λάθρα*.

imagines that the real prologue is lost. Porson at one time shared this view. In his *Praelectio in Euripidem* (1792) we read: "Cum enim Aelianus tres versus ex hac fabula citaverit, qui in dramate nostro, prout nunc habetur, nusquam comparent; cumque hi tres versus Dianae totam tragediae constitutionem exponenti aptissime congruant; quis dubitet, prologum hujus quoque olim fuisse dramatis, sed injuria temporis jamdudum periisse?" Subsequently Porson appears to have devoted particular attention to this play, and to have thought of editing it<sup>1</sup>. His final judgement was that a large portion of the exodus of the tragedy was spurious—not added to the genuine tragedy, but occupying the place of a lost part—and that in this missing part Aelian's quotation occurred. His words are (*Supplem. ad Praef.* p. 23): "Si me rogas, utra harum vera sit lectio, respondeo neutra. Nec quicquam mea refert; quippe qui persuasus sim, totam eam scenam abusque versu 1541 [1532] spuriam esse et a recentiori quodam, nescio quando, certe post Aeliani tempora suppositam". In his note too on v. 1338 of the *Orestes* he expresses doubts of the genuineness of this part of the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*.

The next important piece of external evidence which influenced the theories of scholars on the subject was a scholion on v. 67 of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. In v. 66 Dionysus says

τοιουτοσὶ τοίνυν με δαρδάπτει πόθος  
Εὐριπίδου.

Heracles thereupon asks: καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ τεθνηκότος; The scholiast's comment on this is: τινὲς βούλονται ἐν πρόσωπον λέγειν ὅλον. τινὲς δὲ διορίζουσι τὸ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγοντος αὐτό. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αἱ διδασκαλῖαι φέρουσι, τελευτήσαντος Εὐριπίδου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δεδιδαχέναι ὁμώνυμος (so V, ὁμώνυμον G) ἐν ᾧσται Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἐν Αἰλίδι, Ἀλκμαίωνα, Βάκχας. Although it happened that the discovery of the fragment in Aelian had a greater and more immediate effect on the problem, this scholion is itself a more valuable piece of evidence. Its first effect was to suggest an explanation of the irregularities of structure and diction to which attention had been called. The mention of another hand as concerned in the production of the tragedy gave rise to the idea that two separate editions of it were produced at different times, and that we have pieces of both editions unskilfully joined to make our present text. This theory fits some of the facts—fits them too well perhaps. It accounts for passages quoted from ancient authors

<sup>1</sup> "De quo latius agam si quando *ad Praef. ad Hec.* p. 23. fabulam istam edendam curabo", *Supplem.*

which we do not find in our text<sup>1</sup> by supposing that they occurred in some parts of one of the editions which have not been preserved, and as for discrepancies and irregularities, 'what,' says the theory, 'is more natural than that parts should not unite well which belonged originally to different wholes?'

This view of the two editions was supported in one form or other by Eichstadt (*De dramate Graecorum comico-satyrico*, Leipzig, 1793), Boeckh (*Graecae trag. princ.* &c., Heidelberg, 1808), and by Bremi (*Phil. Beiträge aus der Schweiz* p. 143, Zürich, 1819). Zirndorfer (*Dr. Eur. Iph. Aul.*, Marburg, 1838) modified this theory by supposing that both the elder and the younger Euripides wrote a play of this name, and that long afterwards a grammarian selected parts of each to make into a single play, occasionally adding something of his own.

Another quotation from the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* in an ancient author which has been the cause of some perplexity is to be found in the 13th book of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* p. 562. The difficulty in this case is not, as in that of Aelian's quotation, that the lines are not to be found in our text. It would have saved a good deal of trouble if they were not; but they are there:—at *vv.* 548—551: and the difficulty is that they are there assigned to "the tragic poet Chaeremon". The passage of Athenaeus is as follows: Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἑρωτικῷ Χαίρημονά φησι τὸν τραγικὸν λέγειν ὡς τὸν οἶνον τῶν χρωμένων τοῖς τρόποις κεράννυσθαι, οὕτως καὶ τὸν Ἑρωτα ὃς μετριάζων μὲν ἐστὶν εὐχαρις, ἐπιτεινόμενος δὲ καὶ διαταράττων χαλεπώτατος. διόπερ ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος οὐ κακῶς αὐτοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις διαιρῶν φησι Δίδυμα γὰρ τόξα αὐτὸν ἐντείνεσθαι χαρίτων, τὰ μὲν ἐπ' εὐαίῳνι τύχη, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ συγκύσει βιοτᾶς· ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητὴς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐρώντων ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τραυματίᾳ φησὶν οὕτως

Τίς οὐχὶ φήσει τοὺς ἐρώντας ζῆν μόνους;  
εἰ δέῃ γε πρῶτον μὲν στρατευτικωτάτους  
εἶναι, ποιεῖν τε δυναμένους τοῖς σώμασιν  
μάλιστα, προσεδρεύειν τ' ἀρίστους τῷ πόθῳ,  
ποιητικούς, ἱταμούς, προθύμους, εὐπόρους,  
ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις βλέποντας, ἀθλιωτάτους.

<sup>1</sup> There are two minor items of this kind of evidence which were known to Musgrave and used either by or soon after him to support his theory; (1) the gloss of Hesychius ἀθρανιστᾶ· ἀπρόσκοπα· Εὐριπίδης Ἰφιγενείᾳ τῇ ἐν Αὐλίδι, (2) the statement made by the scholiast on *Ar. Frogs* *v.* 1309 ff. that Aristophanes was there quoting from the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*.

As to the former point see on *v.* 57. As to the latter, the word *στωμύλλετε*, which could hardly have occurred in a tragic chorus, shows the passage to be a paraphrase, not a literal quotation. Very probably *Iph. Taur. vv.* 1089 ff. was the passage the scholiast had in his mind and he wrote ἐν Αὐλίδι by mistake for ἐν Ταύροις.

Gruppe devotes a considerable space in his work on the Greek stage—*Ariadne*, Berlin, 1834—to the argument that in the construction of the plot and in its elaboration in the dialogue, the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* is unlike, and superior to the work of Euripides. It might, he says, have been written by Sophocles, but never by Euripides. Athenaeus, he believes, has revealed to us its real author, Chaeremon. Euripides did write a tragedy of that name, and from that tragedy, Gruppe holds, Aelian quoted in his *Hist. Anim.* It is not necessary to confront this theory with all the external testimony which contradicts it, because Meineke's examination (*Hist. Crit. Comic. Graec.* p. 520) of the passage of Athenaeus has destroyed the force of its evidence. He has shown that the words from Θεόφραστος δ' to βιοτᾶς cannot have originally been written (at least intentionally) in the position and with the context they now have. Immediately before, Athenaeus had quoted a passage from the Ἀποκοπόμενος of Alexis. Stobaeus *Floril.* 119, 15 mentions a Τραυματίας by Alexis. The passage quoted by Athenaeus as written by ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητής is by its language, and still more by its metre, clearly declared to be from a comedy and not a tragedy. Hence Meineke thinks it evident that by ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητής Alexis is meant:—and moreover that Athenaeus, after writing the passage containing the two quotations from the comedies of Alexis, finding in Theophrastus the apposite quotations from Chaeremon and Euripides, inserted them carelessly, without giving the full context of the passage from Theophrastus, and taking no more care to distinguish between Euripides and Chaeremon than between the author of the *Iphigeneia* and the author of the *Traumatias*<sup>1</sup>.

With Matthiae, whose edition of Euripides appeared between the years 1813 and 1829, begins a new era in the criticism of our play. The course which he took is the one which the majority of subsequent critics have followed in the main. He rejects the above-mentioned conjectures as to the two editions or the two plays, and regards the tragedy as the work of Euripides, left by him incomplete at his death, finished and arranged by the younger Euripides for the stage, but in such a manner as to leave gaps and inconsistencies, which gave rise to later alterations and additions by various hands. The main points in this view are the recognition of an original imperfection, and of the varying character and date of the interpolations. The imperfection may have been due, as Matthiae thought, to the fact that the author left the work unfinished at his death, or to an early mutilation of the

<sup>1</sup> On the play of Chaeremon bearing *chische Tragödien*, vol. III. pp. 1086 ff. the title *Tραυματίας* see Welcker, *Grie-*



manuscript containing it. Naturally the views of scholars on the spuriousness of particular passages have varied greatly. On the main question however Matthiae is found to be in company with Hermann (1831 and 1847), Hartung (1837), Monk (1840), Dindorf, Kirchhoff, Nauck, Paley, Klotz, Hennig<sup>1</sup> and Vitelli<sup>2</sup>.

While these scholars differ among themselves in the appreciation and interpretation of the external evidence, they agree in holding that the internal evidence which condemns parts of the play is overpowering—that the inconsistencies, the superfluities, the inequalities of style, and (in the epilogue) the imperfections of the metre are so numerous and important as to compel the belief that other hands than that of Euripides have had a share in the work:—that if they did not make the gaps, at all events they filled up large gaps which they found.

Two scholars of note, however, stand champions for the integrity of the play as it has come down to us. Firnhaber (*Eurip. Iph. in Aulis*, Leipzig, 1841), and Weil (*Sept Tragédies d'Euripide*, Paris, 2nd ed. 1879) maintain that the text is genuine from beginning to end: that such imperfections as disfigure it are due to the ordinary accidents of manuscript transmission, and are not beyond the cure of an acute and learned textual criticism.

The full force of the internal evidence can only be brought out by a detailed commentary. Many of the debateable points turn on the interpretation of particular words and sentences which cannot be understood apart from their context. But there are one or two features of the text which may with advantage be viewed separately in this introduction, and which, I think, are enough to prove that the majority of modern scholars are right in their judgement of the general question.

To begin with: the prologue (*vv.* 1—163) consists of two passages of anapaestic dialogue with a long speech in iambics coming between them. If we leave the *Rhesus* out of account—partly because of its doubtful authorship, but still more because we are told in the second *ὑπόθεσις* to the play that it originally had an iambic prologue which had been lost, and for which another spurious prologue (also in iambics) had been substituted—the only other tragedy of Euripides which we have any reason to think began with anapaests was the *Andromeda*. The scholiast on *v.* 1065 of the *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes says of the passage beginning ὦ νῦξ ἱερὰ that it is τοῦ προλόγου Ἀνδρομέδας εἰσβολή, and again at *v.* 1070 he says καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> *De Iph. Aul. forma ac condicione*,  
Berlin, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> *Osservazioni intorno ad alcuni luoghi  
della Ifigenia in Aulide* (Florence, 1877).



προλόγου, and at v. 1072 λέγει μέλλουσα τυχῆν—i.e. in the *Andromeda* the words μέλλουσα τυχῆν followed θανάτου τλήμων. The words τ. π. 'Α. εἰσβολή are usually taken to mean 'the beginning of the prologue of the *Andromeda*'. Fritzsche in his note on the passage in Aristophanes translates the words "pars post prologum proxima". Bohnhoff ("Der Prolog der Iphigenie in Aulis des Eur."—*Programm des städtischen Gymn. in Freienwalde a. O.* 1885—p. 7) takes προλόγου to be a mistake for παρόδου. If there is a mistake, it seems to me preferable to conjecture that we have here an instance of the very usual confusion in uncial MSS. between ἐκ and εἰς, and that the passage was described by the scholiast as τοῦ προλόγου Ἀνδρομέδας ἐκβολή (for the word in the sense of 'conclusion' cf. Hesych. and Eustath. p. 900). The whole passage as far as we can gather it from Aristophanes ran thus:

ὦ νύξ ἱερὰ  
 πῶς μακρὸν ἵππευμα διώκεις  
 ἀστεροειδέα νῶτα διφρεῖνους'  
 αἰθέρως ἱερᾶς  
 τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δι' Ὀλύμπου;  
 τί ποτ' Ἀνδρομέδα περίαλλα κακῶν  
 μέρος ἐξέλαχον  
 θανάτου τλήμων μέλλουσα τυχῆν;

This passage is a monody—at *Thesm.* 1077 Mnesilochus, when interrupted by Euripides as Echo, says "ὦ γὰρ ἑασόν με μονωδῆσαι"—and is spoken by Andromeda. As it is an address to Night it may be supposed to be spoken before daybreak. V. 1098 of the *Thesm.* shows us that the monody preceded Perseus's first appearance on the stage. Probably Echo was brought in by Euripides in the *Andromeda*, but it is not necessary to suppose that she appeared in the place in which the comic poet introduces her—i.e. so as to interrupt the monody. It would be a natural arrangement that the monody should come at the end of an ordinary iambic prologue and accompany the approach of the chorus. The anapaests are apparently not lyric anapaests, but such as accompany a march. However that may be, it was not—like the anapaestic prologue in our text of the *Iph. in Aul.*—a dialogue, and it is difficult to see how a monody begun in such a strain could have been made to serve the purpose of enlightening the spectator about the circumstances of the following action. This however is a question about which I, at least, cannot be certain, and it is possible that after all εἰσβολή is the right word and that it meant 'beginning'.

It remains for us to consider the bearing of this matter on the

present question. In the face of the scholion at the beginning of the *Hecuba*—ἐποίησε δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποιητὴς ἐξεπίτηδες, ἵνα δῆλα πᾶσι ποιήσῃ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πολύδωρον, ὃ καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ πάντων τῶν αὐτοῦ δραμάτων ποιεῖν εἴωθεν—and of the words of Aristotle at *Rhet.* III. p. 1415, 18 a—καὶ οἱ τραγικοὶ δηλοῦσι περὶ τὸ δράμα, καὶ μὴ εὐθὺς ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ γέ πον δηλοῖ, ὥσπερ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς “ἐμοὶ πατὴρ ἦν Πόλυβος”—and of the ridicule of Aristophanes on this very ground—*Frogs* 946, where Euripides is made to say :

ἀλλ' οὐξίων πρῶτιστα μὲν μοι τὸ γένος εἶπ' ἂν εὐθὺς  
τοῦ δράματος—

in the face of all this distinct testimony to Euripides's universal custom, I think it is difficult to admit on the strength of the Aristophanes scholion above quoted that the *Andromeda* formed an exception. But surely this admission, if made, instead of opening the door, as some have thought, for a further admission in the case of the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, closes it effectually. The words ἐν ἀρχῇ πάντων τῶν δραμάτων are irreconcilable with *two* exceptions.

It may be taken then as nearly certain that Euripides provided our play with an iambic prologue of the usual kind. Such a prologue we have in *vv.* 49—114. As Wecklein says, it did not need the quotation of a line of it by Aristotle (*Rhetoric* III. 1411, 29 b) to stamp it as the genuine work of Euripides. It bears that stamp on every line<sup>1</sup>. But in our text it does not stand as a prologue (in the narrower sense), but as an answer to the Old Attendant's eager question in *v.* 43 τί πονεῖς; τί νέον περὶ σοί, βασιλεῦ; Such an answer—a historical review of all the previous circumstances, and a detailed statement of the present predicament of the Greek leaders and their army, containing no hint until *v.* 110 that it is addressed to any special person—is ridiculously out of place. Besides the Old Man knew it almost all already. The change of metre too is awkward. Nowhere else can be found one long iambic passage answering and answered by anapaests, and forming with the anapaests an uninterrupted conversation. It should be remembered moreover that the most vital characteristic of the Euripidean prologue was, not that it was in iambs, nor that it was a monologue, but that it *at once* (εὐθὺς) put the audience in a position to understand the action, motives, and condition of the dramatis personae. Now, however significant this somewhat rambling conversation (*vv.* 1—48) may be to those who know what is happening,

<sup>1</sup> G. Dindorf, *Eur.* III. p. 441, *Poet.* sage unworthy of Euripides and assigned  
*Scen.* p. 264—thought this iambic pas- it to Euripides minor.

we may feel sure that it would have puzzled and amazed an audience who came to hear a play of Euripides, to have to search for their clue in 50 lines of conversation between Agamemnon and an Old Man on the time of night, on the disadvantages of rank, and the necessity of contentment.

A second difficulty which attends the usual arrangement of the prologue is this. At *v.* 106, after explaining the plan by which Iphigeneia is to be brought to Aulis, Agamemnon says none of the Greeks know of it except Calchas, Odysseus, Menelaus, and himself. Yet at *v.* 124 the Old Attendant asks 'how can Achilles be expected to put up with the loss of his bride?' To this Agamemnon at *v.* 128 answers that Achilles knows nothing of their plan. If this were a comedy Agamemnon's long speech might be conceived to have sent the old man to sleep, and thus we could account for his not knowing what Agamemnon had just told him. But this is not a comedy; so commentators who uphold the mss. arrangement have to suppose either, as Hermann did at first, though he gave it up later, that Agamemnon had spoken 106 ff. (for some inconceivable reason) aside—"submissiore voce et aversum ab sene"—or else, as Weil, and (practically) Firnhaber do, that the old man was exceptionally stupid. Weil thinks that the old man's denseness (or inattention) was arranged by the poet to give an opportunity of saying over again a thing which it was important for the spectators to notice. This does not sound like tragic art.

Hennig, to remove this difficulty, rejects *vv.* 124—132 as spurious—put in by some one who thought *vv.* 133 ff. *δενά γ' ἐτόλμας κ. τ. λ.* inconsistent with Agamemnon's words as given in *vv.* 115—123. But, as Vitelli well observes, it is even easier to believe that a manifest inconsistency such as that between *vv.* 124 ff. and 106 ff. should be left by inadvertence by the author of the play, than that it should be deliberately inserted by a would-be improver.

Wecklein (*Ztschr. f. d. Oest. Gymn.* xxix. p. 721) would get out of both difficulties by rejecting all the anapaests which come before the iambic passage (*i.e.* *vv.* 1—48) as spurious, and supposing that the old man only came on the stage after the iambic passage had been spoken.

Hartung (whose arrangement Hermann approves of in his latest discussion of the play, see *Opusc.* viii. 218 ff.) also avoids both difficulties—*i.e.* that arising out of the position of the iambic prologue and secondly that of the contradiction between *vv.* 106 f. and *vv.* 124 ff. He supposes that, as Euripides wrote this play, first came the iambic prologue (*vv.* 49 ff.); then the first anapaestic passage (*vv.* 1—48), and

then the second anapaestic passage (*vv.* 115 ff.). But inasmuch as *v.* 115 (or *v.* 117) does not make sense when following immediately on *v.* 48, he supposes that a passage (of 10 or 15 lines) was lost—"resectis utrimque uno alterove versu, substitutisque novis quibusdam", Hartung (*J. in A.*) p. 85. In these lines Agamemnon would no doubt have told the old servant what the former letter contained, and that he now wished to send another<sup>1</sup>. Bohnhoff (*ut supra*) adopts the same arrangement of the different passages and the assumption of a lacuna after *v.* 48, but differs from Hartung in his conjectures as to the origin of the transposition which has produced the mss. arrangement. The latter thinks the passages were deliberately transposed by some one who thought the Euripidean prologue artistically a blemish<sup>2</sup>. Bohnhoff (*ut supra* p. xxii.) believes that the transposition was due to an accident: that the first page in a ms. copy of the play got loose and was turned round sideways and bound up the wrong way—so that what was really p. 1 became p. 2, and *vice versa*: that on the original p. 1 was the iambic prologue, and on p. 2 the first 55 or 60 anapaests, of which the few last have been lost owing to the damaging of the lower part of the loose page: that *vv.* 110—114 were the work of a late interpolator into whose hands the ms. came in its transposed form, and who saw that the gap must be filled up somehow.

While then all these considerations do not enable us to say that it is *impossible* that Euripides could have arranged a prologue such as our mss. give us (or that there is no possible way out of the second difficulty but those given above), I have no hesitation in accepting the hypothesis of a subsequent displacement of the parts of the prologue, as affording the most satisfactory explanation of the facts, and I have in the arrangement of the text endeavoured to restore the 'erratic block' to its original position, though I cannot hope to remove all traces of its long sojourn on foreign soil, nor to efface the scars which its intrusion has left in its unnatural position. That is, I have printed the iambics first, and left a lacuna in the middle of the anapaests. For the sake of convenience of reference I have affixed the ordinary numbers at the side of the lines.

To proceed: it is almost universally admitted that the second half of the first stasimon is an interpolation. The reasons for this belief will be found in the commentary on *vv.* 231—302.

<sup>1</sup> The probability that we have a lacuna between *vv.* 33 and 34, the possible

spuriousness of *vv.* 43—48 and of *vv.* 110—114 (see commentary), serve to sup-

port this hypothesis.

<sup>2</sup> See also Hartung's views on the Exodus.



The only other part of the play which need be discussed here is the Exodus—*v.* 1532 to the end. It has been seen above that Porson condemned it. He was doubtless moved both by the imperfections of metre and language, as well as by the passage in Aelian. There is however a third kind of internal evidence to consider besides the metrical and the linguistic, and that is the fitness of the Exodus from the point of view of Euripidean dramatic construction. It will be seen that the tragedian must have been in no little perplexity as to his *dénouement*. Every indication in the play up to *v.* 1531 points to a consummation of the sacrifice. But the death of the heroine could not fail to jar upon an audience who were familiar—and had been made familiar by a previous play of the poet himself—with the story of her rescue by means of the substitution of a doe. On the other hand, according to all versions of the story, Iphigeneia's own contemporaries know nothing, until long afterwards, of her rescue<sup>1</sup>. Clytaemnestra, both by Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1417) and by Sophocles (*Electra* 530 ff.), is made to plead Iphigeneia's sacrifice as a justification of her husband's murder. In this very play, at *v.* 1182, and still more clearly at *v.* 1455, she uses words which would clearly indicate to the audience her intention to revenge her daughter by the murder of her husband on his return from Troy when she says to her daughter:—

δεινοὺς ἀγῶνας διὰ σὲ δεῖ κείνον δραμεῖν.

Schiller's remark quoted above (p. xii.) shows that he would have been content that the play should end without any explicit statement of the heroine's fate and its effect on the survivors. It may be doubted whether a Greek audience would have submitted to this obscurization of the crowning action of the piece. Certainly Euripides would be the last man among dramatic authors to leave the whole of a tale untold. Not only did he make more use than his contemporaries of messengers' speeches to enable him to tell his story fully, but he liked the story itself, as it were, to be fitted with a framework of previous and subsequent history. His prologues bring up the history to the point where the action begins, and when he uses a *deus ex machina* (as he was notoriously prone to do) it was not<sup>2</sup> because there was a "*dignus*

<sup>1</sup> At *v.* 563 of the *Iph. in Taur.* Iphigeneia asks Orestes τί δέ; σφαγείσης θυγατρὸς ἔστι τις λόγος; and he answers οὐδεὶς γε, πλὴν θανοῦσαν οὐχ ὄραν φάος.

<sup>2</sup> See Hartung *ut sup.* pp. 92 f., also Mahaffy, *Euripides* p. 122. Aristotle is to be followed rather than the hint of Horace in a definition of the province in

Greek tragedy of a *deus ex machina*. His words are (*Poet. c.* 15): ἀλλὰ μηχανῇ χρηστέον ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τοῦ δράματος ἢ ὅσα πρὸ τοῦ γέγονεν, ἃ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀνθρώπων εἶδέναι, ἢ ὅσα ὕστερον, ἃ δεῖται προαγορεύσεως καὶ ἀγγελίας· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀποδίδομεν τοῖς θεοῖς ὄραν.



*vindice nodus*," but because he wishes, by the help of a divine foreknowledge, to put before the spectators such future events or unknown circumstances as shall settle their minds, satisfy all curiosity, and connect the subject of the piece with subsequent events, or even with the times of living men.

It must be confessed that the Exodus of this play succeeds partially in avoiding the peculiar difficulties of the situation. It does not definitely state, either that Iphigeneia was slaughtered or was not. The spectators would know what the sudden appearance of the doe meant, but the survivors on the stage would not. *They* are left with the belief that Iphigeneia has been taken away to the gods. The messenger says at *v.* 1608 ἡ παῖς σαφῶς σοι πρὸς θεοὺς ἀφίπτατο, and Agamemnon at *v.* 1622 ἔχει γὰρ ὄντως ἐν θεοῖς ὁμιλίαν. There is nothing here to preclude the future discovery that she has been taken away by Artemis to be her priestess among the Tauri. At the same time we have nothing to show us that the divine interposition had at all reconciled Clytaemnestra to the loss of her daughter, or diminished her desire to be revenged for it upon her husband. In this respect the conclusion is not one which we should expect from Euripides.

When we come to examine the passage in detail we find in it several marks proclaiming it the work of another hand<sup>1</sup> than that of Euripides. It is very difficult to believe that the poet would have reproduced so closely—in some instances verbally—the scene of the slaughter of Polyxena in the *Hecuba*. The full correspondence of the two scenes can only be felt when both are read together. As the most striking instances of verbal correspondence may be mentioned the following.

*Hec.* *vv.* 548 f. ἐκοῦσα θνήσκω· μή τις ἄψηται χροὸς  
τοῦμοῦ, παρέξω γὰρ δέρην εὐκαρδίως.

*Iph.* τοῦμόν δὲ σῶμα...  
θῦσαι δίδωμ' ἐκοῦσα...  
πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ ψαύσῃ τις Ἀργείων ἐμοῦ·  
σιγῇ παρέξω γὰρ δέρην εὐκαρδίως.

<sup>1</sup> It would be more correct to say 'other hands', for from *v.* 1568 onwards far more and grosser faults of all kinds are discernible than in the previous part of the Exodus. (The fresh handwriting in P begins at *v.* 1572. We might almost fancy that the first copier wrote two

lines, and, finding what the rest was like, let it alone.) The main charge however—of being a manifest imitation of the scene in the *Hecuba*—applies to both parts of the Exodus, so the variety of hands need not be noticed here.

*Hec. vv. 535 ff.* δέξαι χοάς μου τάσδε...  
 ...ἐλθὲ δ' ὡς πίης μέλαν  
 κόρης ἀκραιφνὲς αἷμ' ὃ σοι δωρούμεθα  
 στρατός τε κἀγώ.

*Iph.* δέξαι τὸ θῦμα τόδ' ὃ γέ σοι δωρούμεθα  
 στρατός τ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ θ' ὁμοῦ,  
 ἄχραντον αἶμα καλλιπαρθένου δέρης.

Talthybius too is made to discharge the herald's part in both the sacrifices. But, what is most suspicious of all, Achilles is made in the *Iphigeneia* to take a very similar part in the sacrifice of the heroine to that taken at Polyxena's by his son. In the *Hecuba* (v. 523) we read :

πλήρες δ' ἐν χεροῖν λαβὼν δέπας  
 πᾶγχρυσον αἶρει χειρὶ παῖς Ἀχιλλέως.

In the *Iphigeneia* :

ὁ παῖς δ' ὁ Πηλέως ἐν κύκλῳ βωμὸν θεᾶς  
 λαβὼν κανοῦν ἔθρεξε, χέρνιβας θ' ὁμοῦ.

It is inconceivable that Achilles, who, as we have seen, had done his best to dissuade Iphigeneia from her act of self-devotion, and had even promised to be at hand with an armed force to rescue her if she should relent at the last moment, should appear in this character at the sacrifice itself.

Some further indications of a late hand may be mentioned. We find, not only such linguistic peculiarities as ἔθρεξε (v. 1569), ἵνα πλῆξειεν ἄν (v. 1579), πᾶς τις ἦσθετ' ἄν (v. 1582), ἐραίνεται' (v. 1589), or ταύτην μάλιστα τῆς κόρης ἀσπάζεται (v. 1594), but such unmetrical verses as 1562, 1568, 1570, 1589 (ἧς αἵματι βωμὸς ἐραίνεται' ἄρδην τῆς θεοῦ), 1593, 1596 (ἡδέως τε τοῦτ' ἐδέξατο καὶ πλοῦν οὔριον), 1599 (χωρεῖ τε πρὸς ναῦν ὡς ἡμέρα τῇδε δεῖ—evidently the work of some one whose pronunciation of ἡμέρα by the accent took the place of the classical rules as to quantity), 1610, 1611, and 1612, and such anapaestic lines as 1617, 1619 (καὶ μὴν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ στείχει—again scanned by the accent), and 1620 (τοῦσδ' αὐτοὺς ἔχων σοι φράζειν μύθους — — — — —). On the other hand in the 74 iambic lines beginning at v. 1540 there are, if we omit proper names, hardly 10 trisyllabic feet: a proportion far lower than is usual in any of Euripides's later plays.

Matthiae, from the fact that at the moment of the sacrificial prayer we are told (at v. 1577) that the eyes of all were turned to the ground, conjectured, not unnaturally, that the passage was written

by a Christian, inasmuch as that was not an attitude familiar to an old Greek religious assembly.

It is further to be noticed that in P from v. 1570 to the end is written in a different hand—the same hand that wrote the first 36 lines of the spurious fragment of the *Danae*<sup>1</sup>. The new hand begins two lines from the bottom of p. 146 b (of the ms.), and after the *Danae* fragment there is a column and three following pages left blank. This looks as if the writer of P either had not found any more in the ms. from which he copied, or else did not think what was there was worth copying, and had left some blank pages in his ms. which were afterwards filled in by another hand, copying perhaps from another original. The *Hippolytus*, which is the next play which follows after the gap, is in the same hand as all the rest of the ms. At all events it is the fact that some of the *Danae* fragment, which has been well shown by Elmsley and Jacobs<sup>2</sup> to be spurious, is in the same hand as the latter part of our Exodus. This indication that the two came from the same source involves the latter in suspicion.

Then comes the question, what are we to say to Aelian's quotation? Weil tries to show that it could not possibly have come in the play. But his arguments would equally exclude the fragment from any play on the same subject. Most modern scholars accept Aelian's testimony, and believe the verses to have been part of the missing Exodus of the play. Wecklein<sup>3</sup>, for instance, regards the fragment as of cardinal importance to the criticism of the play, and acquits Aelian of any mis-quotation or mis-citation. I cannot arrive at this certainty myself. It should be observed that Aelian does not say the lines come from the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, only from the *Iphigeneia* of Euripides. It seems to me very possible that an indistinct remembrance of the words

ἐλαφον ἀντιδοῦσά μου

\* Ἄρτεμις Ἀχαιοῖς,

which occur at v. 28 of the Tauric *Iphigeneia*, led Aelian to locate there a fragment which came from somewhere else:—not, I think, from Sophocles' *Iphigeneia*; for this use of αἰχήσουσι was not Sophoclean, though it was common later:—possibly from the *Iphigeneia* of Polyeidus the Sophist mentioned by Aristotle in the *Poetics* (c. 16). Everyone

<sup>1</sup> Wilam.-Moellendorf (*Analecta Euripidea* p. 8) thinks this hand the same that wrote the earliest corrections. The hand that wrote the last 27 lines of the *Danae* fragment seemed to me the same as that which wrote the word κατείδες

over προσέβης at v. 824.

<sup>2</sup> See the references in Dindorf *Poet. Scen. Eur. Frag.* 1117.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschr. für die Oesterr. Gymn.* Vol. XXIX. (1878) p. 721.

knows in his own case, and in that of others, how a quotation which, owing to some prominent feature, has acquired an independent existence in the memory, loses its hold on its original context and easily makes new connexions—*i.e.* becomes associated in the mind with some other slightly similar context. For instance, the indistinct memory of King Lear's words;

“that she may feel  
How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is  
To have a thankless child”

often leads to the assigning well-known parts of Amiens' song in Act II. Sc. 7 of *'As you like it'* to King Lear. In ancient times the difficulty of procuring copies of authors, the difficulty, in the absence of numbered pages and lines, of finding a special passage, left an author tenfold more exposed to the danger of mis-locating a quotation. But we need not go only to ancient times, or to obscure or ill-trained minds, for such mistakes. It is curious that at p. 46 of vol. iv. of the collected edition of his prose works (1878) Sir Henry Taylor quotes a passage from the *'Taming of the Shrew'*, and says in a footnote (added in this edition) that it comes from the *'Winter's Tale'*. If a distinguished writer, after the publication of a Concordance to Shakspeare, can make such a slip, how much more likely was a man in Aelian's day to make a similar one.

With this possibility of error in view, and in consideration of the difficulty which has been generally felt of finding a place in our play for Aelian's fragment—of imagining, that is, circumstances under which the words could have been spoken to any of the personages—we ought, I think, to refuse to this piece of evidence the high position which Wecklein and others assign to it. It started the discussion, but it ought not to rule it.

I have given reasons for thinking that our Exodus is not the work of Euripides, but of at least two distinct hands of very unequal skill. Many scholars will still prefer to believe that Euripides did write an Exodus, and that the fragment in Aelian was a part of it. I incline to think that Aelian cited the passage wrongly and that Euripides left the play unfinished. The claims of this latter view can only be estimated properly by one who has carefully examined all the other passages where it is likely that spurious lines have been interpolated, and where it is possible therefore that gaps existed<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There is much that is attractive and much that is ingenious about Vitelli's way of unravelling the mystery. He

holds (*Osserv.* &c. p. 61 ff.) that Euripides the younger found the play without an exodus, and composed one: that as



*Time of Production.*

The second important piece of external evidence mentioned above (p. xviii.), *i.e.* the scholiast's note on Aristoph. *Frogs* v. 67, is, I think, to be trusted without hesitation, though its significance has not always been clearly understood. The passage of Aristophanes as well as the scholiast's note must be considered. Dionysus in the *Frogs* must be taken to represent the average public opinion of the Athenian theatre-goers. An expression by Dionysus of a longing for Euripides roused by reading his *Andromeda*, and a resolution to fetch him up from the dead, can only mean that the Athenian public would gladly again see Euripides on the stage. Such a desire might conceivably have been satisfied by the reproduction of some old plays, but it is on all accounts more natural to suppose that both Aristophanes and his audience knew that the poet had left some unpublished dramas behind him at his death. At any rate the scholiast on v. 67<sup>1</sup> connected with the expression of Dionysus's desire the statement of the didascalie that Euripides the younger produced after the poet's death the three tragedies which he names. "As a matter of fact (καί)" he says "that is what did happen. Euripides did appear on the stage. His son produced three of his tragedies at the great Dionysia, and in so doing, instead of producing them in his own name, preserved the name of the author"—*i.e.* Εὐριπίδης ὁ Μησάρχον—for this I take to be the meaning of the much discussed ὁμωνύμως. ἑτερονύμως might have been used of posthumous or other works published under another name than their author's, ἀνωνύμως of work published under no name, ὁμωνύμως would then mean 'name and all', 'keeping the author's name'.

The quotation from the didascalie is supported in its main facts by statements made by Suidas (*s.v.* Εὐριπίδης) and the author of the life of

far as v. 1571 we have his work, and that the fragment of Aelian belongs to the latter half of the younger Euripides' exodus, lost at a much later time by an accident, the place of which lost passage was filled by some late Byzantine with our vv. 1572—1629: that the words ἔλαφον δ' Ἀχαιοὺς χερσὶν κ.τ.λ. were part of a speech spoken by Artemis to Agamemnon (οἷω φαινόμενη) in order to deter him from attempting to rescue Iphigeneia at the last moment from the sacrificial knife, and to make him resigned to the divinely

ordered course of events. Vitelli prefers to think that such resignation, though possible in Agamemnon, was impossible for Clytemnestra.

<sup>1</sup> I believe that the scholion on v. 67 consists of two independent notes, so that the γάρ after the οὐτω does not introduce an explanation of the previous words about the division of the line between the interlocutors, but is the ordinary γάρ with which such explanatory notes are often introduced.



Euripides. The words of the former are: νίκας δὲ εἴλετο εἰ, τὰς μὲν τέσσαρας περιών, τὴν δὲ μίαν μετὰ τελευτήν, ἐπιδείξαντον τὸ δράμα τοῦ ἀδελφίδου αὐτοῦ Εὐριπίδου. The latter, speaking of the poet's third son (named Euripides), says ὅς ἐδίδαξε τοῦ πατρὸς ἑνια δράματα.

Euripides died some time in the summer of 406 B.C. The *Frogs* was produced at the Lenaea, *i.e.* in January B.C. 405. We may conjecture therefore with much probability, that the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, with the *Bacchae* and the *Alcmaeon* (the one called ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου), was put on the stage by the younger Euripides at the Great Dionysia,—in March, that is, in the year 405 B.C.

### *The Manuscripts.*

In the critical notes are set down the readings of the MSS. P and L (see above, p. xvi.) wherever they differ from each other, or from the printed text. On giving the readings of L, I rely, with much gratitude to its learned author, on the collation and facsimiles published by Prof. Vitelli of Florence in his *Osservazioni i. a. alc. luo. d. If. in Aul.* Florence 1877. The MS. P I have collated myself. I also compared with the MS. the critical notes of Kirchhoff, and the collation of v. Wil.-Moellendorf given in his *Analecta Euripidea*. Of these two collations I found the latter by far the more complete and accurate, though I am by no means always ready to accept the decision of this scholar<sup>1</sup> as to the distinction between P, P<sup>2</sup>, and p. I was not able myself to arrive at any very definite conclusion about the dates of the corrections. Some are evidently of much later date than others. There are a large number of apparently early corrections of P to the reading of L; others again where both MSS. had the same original reading and are corrected in the same way. I do not think there are nearly so many where L has been assimilated to P. This would suggest that P was compared with L or an early copy of it. At least one ignorant reader has left traces in P in the shape of stops put in where he thought there was a break in the construction, and 'long' marks over vowels where he thought the metre required it. It is possible that this reader was the same as the latest corrector. (See C. N. on v. 92.)

<sup>1</sup> See *Analecta Eur.* p. 8.

# ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

## ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ Η ΕΝ ΑΥΛΙΔΙ.

### Πρόλογος.

ΑΓΑ. ἐγένοντο Λήδᾳ Θεστιάδι τρεῖς παρθένοι,  
 Φοῖβη Κλυταιμνήστρα τ' ἐμὴ ξυνάορος  
 Ἑλένη τε· ταύτης οἱ τὰ πρῶτ' ὠλβισμένοι  
 μνηστῆρες ἦλθον Ἑλλάδος νεανίαι.  
 δειναὶ δ' ἀπειλαὶ καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων φόνος

50

53. φθόνος Markland and Matthiae.

49. Θεστιάδι] Euripides is fond of these patronymic adjectives—other exx. are Τυνδαρίς, Τυνδάρειος, Ἡράκλειος, Πε-  
 λιάς, Τιτανίς.

50. Φοῖβη] not mentioned elsewhere except by Ovid *Her.* viii. 77. ἐμὴ ξυνάορος] It is usual in a Euripidean prologue for the speaker to announce his (or her) name. In this case Ag. sufficiently declares who he is when he says that his wife's name is Clytaemnestra.

52. μνηστῆρες ἦλθον] As a secondary predicate to ἐλθεῖν an adjective or verbal noun often indicates a purpose: ταύτης μνηστῆρες ἦλθον is equivalent to ταύτην ἦλθον μνηστεύσοντας. Cf. Isocrates *Enc. Hel.* p. 216 ὑπεριδόντες τοὺς οἴκοι γάμους ἦλθον ἐκείνην μνηστεύσοντας. So *Hec.* 239 οἷσθ' ἥνικ' ἦλθες Ἴλιον κατὰ σκοποῖ. *Or.* 1300 ἔλθ' ἐπικούρον ἐμοῖσι

φίλοισι. *Ion* 297 ἐπικούρος ἐλθών. Ἑλλάδος] this gen. may depend purely on νεανίαι or (better) partly also on τὰ πρῶτ' ὠλβισμένοι which words are a 'tragic', i.e. somewhat grandiose variety of the simple ὀλβιώτατοι. Cf. for the gen. *Soph. Ajax* 435 τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ, and *ib.* v. 1300 στρατοῦ τὰ πρῶτ' ἀριστεύσας.

53—57. 'And it was frightful to hear one threaten the other with death if he failed to win the maiden. So difficult was the decision, the giving and the refusing alike, that her father Tyndareos was at a loss how to enjoy fortune's blessing without disaster'.

53. κατ' ἀλλήλων] But for these words the sentence would imply that each suitor threatened Tyndareos with death if his request were refused.

ξυνίσταθ', ὅστις μὴ λάβοι τὴν παρθένον.  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα δ' ἀπόρως εἶχε Τυνδάρεω πατρί,  
 δοῦναί τε μὴ δοῦναί τε, τῆς τύχης ὅπως  
 ἄψαιτ' ἄθραυστα. καὶ νιν εἰσῆλθεν τάδε,  
 ὄρκους συνάψαι δεξιὰς τε συμβαλεῖν  
 μνηστῆρας ἀλλήλοισι καὶ δι' ἐμπύρων  
 σπονδὰς καθεῖναι καπαράσασθαι τάδε·  
 ὅτου γυνὴ γένοιτο Τυνδαρὶς κόρη,  
 τοῦτ' συναμννεῖν, εἴ τις ἐκ δόμων λαβὼν  
 οἴχοιτο τὸν τ' ἔχοντ' ἀπωθοίη λέχους,  
 [καπιστρατεύσειν καὶ κατασκάψει πόλιν

55

60

54. ἄν written over μὴ in L without much regard for the construction, by someone who thought the ὅστις clause must refer to the object of the threats.  
 56. Hemsterhuys had the penetration to see that ἄθραυστα (Hesych. ἄθραυστα· ἀπρόσκοπα. Εὐριπίδης Ἰφιγενείᾳ τῇ ἐν Αὐλίδι) suited this passage better than the similar and commonplace ἄρστα.  
 62. συναμννεῖν PL, συναμννεῖν Heath.  
 63. ἀπόσασθαι (in an erasure) P, ἀπωθοίη L.  
 64. καπιστρατεύειν PL, καπιστρατεύσειν Markland.—κατασκάψειν corr. to κατασκάπτειν P, κατασκάψειν L.

54. ξυνίσταθ'] Literally 'began to take shape'. ὅστις μὴ λάβοι 'such as should fail to win'. The oblique form and the ἀπειλαί in the previous line suggest the way in which this very contracted sentence is to be expanded (see the translation above).

55 and 56. Markland was very likely right in thinking that Eur., who was a careful student of Aeschylus, in writing these words had in mind Aeschylus *Suppl.* 379 ἀμχανῶ δὲ καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει φρένας, δρᾶσαι τε μὴ δρᾶσαι τε καὶ τύχην ελεῖν, but the construction of the two passages is different. In the first place, though δρᾶσαι τε μὴ δρᾶσαι τε is 'to do or not to do', the difficulty felt by Tyndareos was not whether he should or should not give his daughter, nor even to whom he should give her, but how, in the giving and in the refusing, he should escape the enmity of the disappointed suitors—how he should seize the good fortune and escape the evil. There is therefore no reason for the θ' which Markland proposed, which would correspond to the καὶ in Aeschylus. δοῦναί τε μὴ δοῦναί τε is in apposition to

τὸ πρᾶγμα and τῆς τύχης ὅπως ἄψαιτ' ἄθραυστα is dependent on ἀπόρως εἶχε.

57. ἄθραυστα] It is difficult to decide whether by ἀπρόσκοπα (see Crit. notes) Hesych. meant 'without stumbling' or 'without giving offence'. I think the former.

58. Cf. ὄρκους συνῆψαν *Phoen.* 1241: Isocr. *Enc. Hel.* 216 οὕτω δὲ κεκριμένου τοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτῇ συνοικήσειν, ἀλλ' ἐπικουρῆς τῆς τύχης οὔσης, οὕτω πρόδηλος ἦν ἅπασιν ἐσομένη περιμάχητος, ὥστε συνελθόντες πίστει ἐδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ἢ μὴν βοηθήσειν εἴ τις ἀποστεροῖ τὸν ἀξιωθέντα λαβεῖν αὐτήν, νομίζων ἕκαστος τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ταύτην αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν.

60. καθεῖναι] an unusual expression for pouring liquid over anything. So at *Ion* v. 435 εἰς ἀπορραντήρια δρόσον καθήσω. At *I. T.* 51f. Eur. uses the word in another rather noteworthy way: ἐκ δ' ἐπικράνων κόμης ξανθὰς καθεῖναι: he seems to have found the word significant and picturesque; cf. *I. T.* 1181, *Bacch.* 695.

63. τὸν ἔχοντα] 'the husband'.

Ἑλλην' ὁμοίως βάρβαρόν θ' ὅπλων μέτα].  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπιστάωθησαν, εὖ δέ πως γέρων  
 ὑπῆλθεν αὐτοὺς Τυνδάρεως πυκνῇ φρενί,  
 δίδωσ' ἐλέσθαι θυγατρὶ μνηστήρων ἕνα,  
 ὅποι πνοαὶ φέροισιν Ἀφροδίτης φίλαι.  
 ἦ δ' εἶλεθ', ὅς σφε μήποτ' ὥφελεν λαβεῖν,  
 Μενέλαον. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν ὁ τὰς θεὰς  
 κρίνων ὅδ', ὡς ὁ μῦθος Ἀργείων ἔχει,  
 Λακεδαίμον', ἀνθηρὸς μὲν εἰμάτων στολῇ

65. Hermann (*Opusc.* VIII. p. 218 ff.) suspected this verse and the next four as well. If any are spurious I think it is 64 and 65. 66. εὖ δέ πως PL, ἐμπέδως Nauck, εὖ δὴ πως Heath, ὦδέ πως Klotz. 68. δίδωσιν PL, δίδωσ' Markland, διδούς Elmsley. 69. ὅτου PL, ὅπου suggested but not adopted by Markland (so too Heath), ὅτω Boissonade, ὅποι Lenting. 70. ὡς γε PL, ὅς σφε Monk: λαβεῖν could not have Helen for subject: ὡς δέ Herm. 72. κρίνας PL, κρίνων Clemens Alex. *Paed.* III. 2 who also has Ἀργείων for the MSS. ἀνθρώπων. I have adopted both Clemens' readings, the former on its merits, the latter because the change from Ἀργ. to ἀνθρ. is much more likely to have been made by inadvertence than the opposite change. Vitelli notices that Γ 227 ἐξοχος Ἀργείων κεφαλὴν ἢδ' εὐρέας ὤμους occurs in Lucian's *Charon* (§ 8) as ἐξοχος ἀνθρώπων κεφαλὴν καὶ εὐρέας ὤμους: and Porson (*Adversaria*) that for Ἀργείοισιν at T 124 *Et. Mag.* p. 21, 53 has ἀνθρώποισιν (so too Didymus). The confusion was no doubt due to

67. Tyndareos circumvented the suitors by his clever plan (πυκνῇ φρενί: cf. v. 57 καὶ νιν εἰσῆλθεν τάδε) of binding them beforehand by a solemn oath to support the rights of the selected husband. The emendations given in the critical notes on vv. 66 and 68 show that some interpreters suppose the clever plan here spoken of to be the allowing his daughter to choose her husband instead of making the decision himself.

68. Cf. Aristotle *Rhet.* 1401 b αἴρεσις γὰρ αὐτῇ ἐδόθη παρὰ τοῦ πατρός (of Helen). In Massinger's *Virgin Martyr* I. 1, Diocletian's daughter, when her father says "Thou shalt not choose" [a husband] "with mine eyes but thine own", answers "It is a bounty, The daughters of great princes seldom meet with".—For the short syllable before μν at the beginning of the next word cf. v. 847 of this play.

69. Those who retain the MSS. read-

ing are forced to make both ὅτου and Ἀφροδίτης depend on πνοαί, and completely obscure the simple metaphor, which is the same as at *Taming of the Shrew* I. 2, "What happy gale Blows you to Padua here from old Verona?" Schoene (keeping ὅτου) trans. πν. Ἀφ. by amor a Venere inspiratus, comparing θεοῦ πνοαί at *Bacch.* 1094.

72. ὅδ'] an extraordinary use of the pronoun, but, supported as it is by the quotation of Clem. Alex., it is impossible (with Wecklein, *Stud. z. Eur.* 387) to doubt it. As a rule when it is used of persons, they are present. We must suppose it is here used picturesquely, to add to the vividness of the description of Paris which follows. "*Compares licet Latinorum* eccum, ecillum, ellum, *in absentibus usurpata*", Bothe. For the intrans. ἔχει cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 343 ὦδ' ἔχει λόγος.

73. ἀνθηρὸς] seems to refer to the



χρυσῷ τε λαμπρός, βαρβάρῳ χλιδήματι,  
 ἔρων ἔρωσαν ὥχετ' ἐξαναρπάσας  
 Ἑλένην πρὸς Ἴδης βούσταθμ', ἔκδημον λαβὼν  
 Μενέλαον· ὃ δὲ καθ' Ἑλλάδ' οἰστρήσας πόθῳ  
 ὄρκους παλαιούς Τυνδάρεω μαρτύρεται,  
 ὡς χρὴ βοηθεῖν τοῖσιν ἡδικημένοις.  
 τούντεϋθεν οὖν Ἕλληνες ἄξαντες δορί,  
 τεύχη λαβόντες στενόπορ' Αὐλίδος βάθρα  
 ἡκουσι τῆσδε, ναυσὶν ἀσπίσιν θ' ὁμοῦ  
 [ἵπποις τε πολλοῖς ἄρμασιν τ' ἡσκημένοι].  
 κᾶτα στρατηγεῖν καμὲ Μενέλεω χάριν

75

80

writers' abbreviations. 77. A late hand in P has corrected Μενέλαον· ὃ δὲ το Μενέλαος οὖν.—μόρῳ PL corr. in P by a late hand to μόνος. As is often the case in a line of more than the average length the last word was obliterated or otherwise lost: δρόμῳ Markland, πῶθῳ Toup: Herm. (*Opusc. ut sup.*) quotes a fragment of Menander (Meineke IV. 159) with the words οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ. 80. αἴξαντες P, αἴξαντες L.—Aristotle (*Rhet.* III. 11) in quoting this line has (evidently by an oversight) ποσὶν for δορί. 83. θ' ἄρμασιν PL, ἄρμασιν τ' Reiske: Hartung and Herm. (*Opusc. ut sup.*) suspect this line: this use of ἀσκεῖν is generally confined in tragedy to elaborate personal adornment. Herodotus (see L. and S.) uses it also of the adornment of buildings. The peculiar usage of the word here and the fact that 'horses and chariots' are not elsewhere so specified by Eur.—who always uses either ἵπποι alone for chariots and horses (*e.g.* *Phoen.* 113), or else uses an adj.—ἵππιος or πωλικός qualifying ὄχοι or ἄρματα—go far to justify the suspicions. The line may well have been interpolated by someone who did not understand the use of the dat. in the constr. ἡκουσι ναυσὶν ἀσπίσιν θ'. The dislocation of the τ' in the mss. adds some slight force to these suspicions. 84. καμὲ στρατηγεῖν κᾶτα PL (the ι subscr. in P under the α̅ is added by a corrector). Of the numerous substitutes for κᾶτα the earliest—that of Heath—κάρτα comes nearest to the mss. reading, and has found general acceptance. But κᾶτα is *prima facie* not likely to be the result of an error or a correction, and, as Vitelli says (*Osservazioni*), the fact that Agamemnon's

bright colours of Paris's dress: the βαρβ. χλιδ. in the next line applies not merely to the gold but to the general oriental splendour both of colour and ornament. Cf. *Troad.* 991 ὃν εἰσιδούσα βαρβάρους ἐσθήμασι χρυσῷ τε λαμπρὸν ἐξεμαργώθη φρένας. It must not be imagined that the τε in v. 74 corresponds, as a δὲ would, to the μέν in the preceding line: the μέν is left for a while 'pendens' and serves with the δὲ in v. 77 to contrast the 'primrose path of dalliance' with the forlorn plight of the injured husband.

75. ἔρων ἔρωσαν] cf. γ 272 (of Aegis-

thus and Clytaemnestra) τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν ὃν δὲ δόμον δέ.

80. ἄξαντες δορί] δορί is a 'dative of effective accompaniment'—'darting forth spear in hand'. Cf. A 483 αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἥρως αἰσῶν ᾧ ἔγχει ἀμύνετο νηλεὲς ἦμαρ. "*Crotone saniora sunt vulgata, vide Aristoph. Lysistr.* 1151" [ἐλθόντες δορί] Porson.

81. στενόπορ' Αὐλίδος βάθρα] 'The land of Aulis on the strait'. *Phoen.* 982 σεμνὰ Δωδώνης βάθρα. Cf. v. 705 Χείρων ἔν' οἰκεῖ σεμνὰ Πηλίου βάθρα.

82. ναυσὶν ἀσπίσιν θ'] 'dat. of effective accompaniment'.

είλοντο, σύγγονόν γε. τᾶξίωμα δὲ 85  
 ἄλλος τις ὥφελ' ἀντ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν τόδε.  
 ἥθροισμένον δὲ καὶ ξυνεστῶτος στρατοῦ,  
 ἥμεσθ' ἀπλοῖα χρώμενοι κατ' Αὐλίδα.

connexion with Menelaus led to his selection is insisted on quite enough in the next line by the *σύγγονόν γε*: the *κάρτα* overweights the sentence in this direction. Vitelli ingeniously suggests that the orig. reading was *κᾶτα στρατηγεῖν μὲν ἐμὲ Μενέλεω*. That in such a line the *μὲν ἐμὲ* should be left out in copying is very likely, and the line itself, though a jingling one, admirably suits the context; but it is difficult to see how, when *κᾶτα στρατηγεῖν Μενέλεω χάριν* (without the *μὲν ἐμὲ*) was found written, the *κᾶτα* should be expelled from the first place and get placed after the *στρατηγεῖν*: *εἶτα* might have been put there, but not *κᾶτα*. I believe, with Vitelli, that *κᾶτα* is the right word, but I think the confusion was due to the interchange by a careless copier of the two similar words *κάμῃ* and *κᾶτα*, and hence that the line ought to stand *κᾶτα στρατηγεῖν κάμῃ Μενέλεω χάριν*: the *καὶ* in *κάμῃ*

85. It is implied in this account that of the two brothers Ag. was the greater prince. There seems to have been no question between Ag. and Men., only between Ag. and the other princes. Agamemnon here modestly attributes the preference of himself to his special interest in the object of the expedition. *είλοντο*] *ὅτι δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐξ αἰρέσεως ἦν βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἰφιγενείᾳ δηλοῖ σαφέστατα* Eustath. p. 57, 30 and at p. 185, 3 (of the same statement) *οἷς καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἰφιγενείᾳ συνηγορεῖ* (Matthiae). At *Electra* 1082 in a notable passage El. says of her father *ὃν Ἑλλάς αὐτῆς εἴλετο στρατηλάτην*. It looks as if Eustathius knew this play better than the *Electra*. Perhaps Matt. is right in thinking that Eust. refers to *vv.* 337 ff.

88. *ἀπλοῖα χρώμενοι*] 'weather-bound' as we should say. Hennig (on *vv.* 6—11) prefers to consider that it was the want of any wind—a dead calm—that kept the Greeks at Aulis. The only passage in this play which favours this view is *vv.* 10 f.:—*σιγαλὶ δ' ἀνέμων τόνδε κατ' Εὐριπον ἔχουσιν*. But this was in the night, and there could be no question of the fleet's starting in the night. At *v.* 352 the detention is spoken of as due to the

lack of an *οὐρία πομπή*. At *v.* 1323 Iph. wishes Zeus had never sent the Greek fleet the *ἀνταῖα πομπά* which prevented their sailing.

Aeschylus (*Ag.* 192 ff.) represents the Greek fleet as prevented from sailing by stormy weather. *V.* 15 of Eur. *I. T.* has been very variously emended and made to suit the 'calm' theory as well as the 'storm' theory.

Soph. *El.* 564 has also been variously interpreted and emended. Livy (XXXVIII. 6) in describing the port of Aulis says it is about as bad a station for a fleet as could be found anywhere. The squalls were sudden and violent and the constant—the proverbial—changes of current quite baffled calculation. Pausanias VIII. 28. 4 says *ὡς δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὐκ ἐγίγνετο ἐπίφορα ἐξ Αὐλίδος πνεύματα ἀλλὰ ἀνεμος σφᾶς βίαιος ἐπὶ χρόνον εἶχεν ἐγκλείσας κ.τ.λ.* Euripides himself had no doubt often seen crowds of ships waiting for a wind at this spot. When we consider that, in addition to the natural difficulties of the place, the Greeks suffered from special divine interposition enhancing those difficulties, we shall see that it is out of place to enquire too closely into the possibilities of the case, or to expect to find in the work of the tragedian an

Κάλχας δ' ὁ μάντις ἀπορία κεχρημένοις  
 ἀνέειπεν Ἴφιγένειαν ἦν ἔσπειρ' ἐγὼ  
 Ἀρτέμιδι θύσαι τῇ τόδ' οἰκούσῃ πέδον,  
 καὶ πλοῦν τ' ἔσεσθαι καὶ κατασκαφὰς Φρυγῶν  
 [θύσασι, μὴ θύσασι δ' οἶκ εἶναι τάδε].  
 κλύων δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτ', ὀρθίῳ κηρύγματι

90

being the emphasizing καὶ—‘*me* of all men,—I wish they hadn’t’. 89. κεχρη-  
 μένος PL, κεχρημένῳ Hemsterhuys, κεχρημένοις Heath and Markland, and so almost  
 all edd. Firnhaber keeps the mss. reading, referring to Achilles’ abuse of seers  
 at *vv.* 956 ff. But this amounts to saying that Ag. believed Calchas had no divine  
 warrant for demanding Iph.’s sacrifice, and consequently that it would have no  
 efficacy to secure a fair wind. There is not a hint of this elsewhere. 92. κατα-  
 σφαγὰς PL. In P a late hand has crossed out φ and γ and written κ and φ over  
 them respectively. So Ald. and all edd. except Mehlhorn and Firnhaber. Other  
 instances will be noticed in this play where the late corrections of P correspond  
 with the readings of Ald., suggesting either that the corrections were made by  
 someone who had the Aldine edition in hand, or that the scholar (Musurus?)  
 who superintended the printing of that edition used this MS. and corrected it as  
 he went on. 93. Nauck, followed by Vitz and Hennig, condemns this line.  
 Even Firnhaber thinks it may have been added by a scribe. Weil pronounces  
 it “certinement authentique”. Perhaps F. was the less inclined to defend it  
 because (whether genuine or not) it gives some support to κεχρημένοις. Vitelli  
 (*Oss.* p. 3) calls attention to a paraphrase in Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 59 § 9) of a verse  
 from the *Philoctetes* of Euripides—δεικνύντα τὸν Χρύσης βωμόν, οὗ θύσαντες κρατήσκειν  
 ἔμελλον τῶν πολεμίων· εἰ δὲ μὴ μάτην ἐγίγνετο ἡ στρατεία. I think it extremely  
 probable that it is this verse which has crept in here with the end slightly modified.

exact statement of the reasons why Aga-  
 memnon could not move his fleet. All  
 we can say is that Euripides in alluding  
 to the difficulty speaks of the want of a  
 favourable and the prevalence of a con-  
 trary wind, while Aeschylus tells of speci-  
 ally stormy weather. It is a mistake to  
 go further and criticise the account as we  
 should a newspaper report of a cam-  
 paign—asking for instance, as it has been  
 done, ‘why didn’t they use their oars and  
 row away?’

91. πέδον] πεδίον is used of a level  
 tract, and like our ‘plain’ is often found  
 in the plural: πέδον is only used in the  
 singular like our ‘soil’ or ‘ground’, and  
 seems to have been readily applied to any  
 piece of ground which had special associ-  
 ations—either to ‘native soil’ or ‘holy

ground’. So in Eur. γῆς πατρίδος πέδον,  
 πάτριον ἐμὸν πέδον, Φοίβου πέδον.

92. A verb of saying has to be under-  
 stood. Exactly the same construction  
 might be used in English. As Hennig  
 says, *v.* 91 is the protasis and *v.* 92 the  
 apodosis, and then in *v.* 93 the πρότασις  
 is most awkwardly repeated in the θύ-  
 σασι. The rest of the line is mere ‘pad-  
 ding’ modelled on *v.* 1007. The εἶναι  
 too, as Hennig observes, is harshly in-  
 consistent with the ἔσεσθαι of the previous  
 line. The πλοῦν ἔσεσθαι is repeated at  
*v.* 358. Vitelli takes εἶναι to be *i. q.*  
 ἐξείναι.

94. κλύων] a good instance of the  
 aoristic use of this participle.—ὀρθίῳ]  
 Monk translates by ‘rousing’; perhaps  
 it is only ‘shrill’.

Ταλθύβιον εἶπον πάντ' ἀφιέναι στρατόν, 95  
 ὡς οὔποτ' ἂν τλᾶς θυγατέρα κτανεῖν ἐμήν.  
 οὐ δὴ μ' ἀδελφὸς πάντα προσφέρων λόγον  
 ἔπεισε τλῆναι δεινά. κὰν δέλτου πτυχαῖς  
 γράψας ἔπεμψα πρὸς δάμαρτα τὴν ἐμήν  
 στέλλειν Ἀχιλλεῖ θυγατέρ' ὡς γαμουμένην, 100  
 τό τ' ἀξίωμα τάνδρὸς ἐκγαυρούμενος,  
 συμπλεῖν τ' Ἀχαιοῖς οὔνεκ' οὐ θέλοι λέγων,  
 εἰ μὴ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰσιν εἰς Φθίαν λέχος·  
 πειθὼ γὰρ εἶχον τήνδε πρὸς δάμαρτ' ἐμήν,  
 ψευδῇ συνάψας ἀντὶ παρθένου γάμον. 105  
 μόνου δ' Ἀχαιῶν ἴσμεν ὡς ἔχει τάδε

98. πτύχαις PL, corr. in P to πτυχαῖς; in L a circumflex over the ι had been erased.  
 100. πέμπειν PL. Markl. in view of the ἔπεμψα in the preceding line, and the στέλλειν in v. 119, sugg. that the true reading here is στέλλειν, and that the πέμπειν was an explanation written over it which had displaced it. Monk, Bothe, Weil and Vitelli adopt στέλλειν. An additional objection to πέμπειν is that it certainly does not exclude, and may even suggest the notion that Clyt. should bring her daughter—(Paley translates it here 'escort', and it is more often used in this sense than in that of 'send'),—and yet Ag. shows at v. 456 that such an arrangement had been far from his thoughts. 102. τούνεκ' PL, in P a later hand has added the mark of crasis over the ν: οὔνεκ' Barnes. 105. ἀντὶ παρθένου PL, ἀμφὶ παρθένου Markl. and Musgr., ἀμφὶ παρθένου (or παρθένῳ) Hennig: I have retained the mss. reading (see expl. notes). Herwerden pronounces the ν. an interpolation. 106, 107, 108. Hennig puts a comma at the end of v. 106 and reads Κάλχας τ' in the

96. ὡς οὔποτ' ἂν τλᾶς] Cf. Goodwin *Moods and Tenses* § 41, 3.

97. οὐ δὴ] used of time: cf. the ὅθι δὴ at v. 547. It is strange that Firnhaber takes it as 'gen. obj.' dependent on λόγον.

98. κὰν] the καὶ here introduces an explanation of the preceding words, of a kind which is more commonly introduced by a γάρ or a καὶ γάρ. In a similar way ἀλλὰ is used at *I. T.* v. 64 where an ἀλλὰ γάρ would have been more usual.

100. Ἀχιλλεῖ] should be taken not closely with στέλλειν but with γαμουμένην. The position of the Ἀχιλλεῖ is intentionally emphatic.

101. ἐκγαυρούμενος] This compound does not occur elsewhere. Paley cps. the use of ἐκπαγλούμενοι at *Hec.* 1157. Both

words seem used in the sense of 'to make much of.' Stadtmüller (*Fleck. Jahrb.* 1888, pp. 665 ff.) would read ἐκπαγλούμενος here, quite unnecessarily.

103. λέχος] for λέχος in the sense of 'wife' cf. *vv.* 389, 1266, 1275, and 1355. Markl. cps. the use of *lectus* at Prop. 11. 5, *Felix Admeti coniux et lectus Ulyxis*.

104 f. συνάψας is explanatory of the τήνδε. I take the meaning to be not: 'I had' or 'used this means of persuading', but (πειθὼ being predicative) 'It was to persuade my wife that I used this scheme' (τήνδε being attracted into the gender of πειθὼ) 'and I concocted a sham marriage to get' (ἀντὶ lit. 'as the price of') 'the maiden'. Monk takes this view of the ἀντὶ and retains it.



Κάλλας τ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Μενέλεως ἐγὼ θ'. ἃ δ' οὐ  
καλῶς τότ' ἔγνων μεταγράψω καλῶς πάλιν  
εἰς τήνδε δέλτον, ἣν κατ' εὐφρόνη[ς σκιάν  
λύοντα καὶ συνδοῦντά μ' εἰσείδες, γέρον. 110  
ἀλλ' εἴα χώρει τάσδ' ἐπιστολὰς λαβὼν  
πρὸς Ἄργος. ἃ δὲ κέκευθε δέλτος ἐν πτυχαῖς,  
λόγῳ φράσω σοι πάντα τὰγγεγραμμένα·  
πιστὸς γὰρ ἀλόχῳ τοῖς τ' ἐμοῖς δόμοισιν εἶ.] 114  
\* \* \* \* \*

ΑΓΑ. ὦ πρέσβυ, δόμων τῶνδε παροίθεν 1

next *v.* Certainly, the absence of the ἐγὼ is remarkable. Vitelli proposes Μενέλεως ἐγὼ θ'. ἃ δ' οὐ καλῶς τότ' ἔγνων μεταγράψω καλῶς πάλιν. Herm. (*Orusc.*) doubted the correctness of the καλῶς πάλιν coming after the αἰθις and the καλῶς of the previous *v.* I have adopted Vitelli's reading. We must suppose the lines to have been deliberately reconstructed. After the loss of the ἐγὼ θ' the καλῶς would be taken from the beginning of *v.* 108 and put at the end of *v.* 107. This would leave τότ' ἔγνων μεταγράψω καλῶς πάλιν. Some copiers would have left this *v.* so, but there are many indications in this play that some one or more hands have set themselves to put in correct shape whatever they found or fancied awry. Hence the corrector wrote ἔγνων τότ' and put in αἰθις. 109—114. In the following 6 verses, if the view I have shown reasons in the Introduction for adopting be correct, we have further deliberate work of a corrector. At the end of *v.* 109 P has εὐφρόνης σκιάν, the σκ in an erasure; L has εὐφρόνην, the final ν being in an erasure, corrected from an original s, and no σκιάν. I believe, with Hartung, that the genuine speech of Ag. ends with the word εὐφρόνην (or εὐφρόνης), and that he went on to say that under cover of the night he meant to send the second letter countermanding the orders of the first. I further believe that when, from whatever cause, the iambic prologue got displaced, *vv.* 110 to 114 were composed to patch together the iambic verses with the following anapaests (*vv.* 115 ff.). *Vv.* 112 and 113 seem to have been taken from *Iph. in Taur.* *vv.* 760 ff., and the τὰγγεγραμμένα which replaces the ἀναγγεῖλαι φίλοις of the latter passage comes in very lamely here after the ἃ δὲ κέκευθε δέλτος of the preceding line. *V.* 114 was suggested apparently by *vv.* 45—48 of the present play. I think too, though this is a small point, the εἰσείδες looks as if it were employed *metri gratia*. The ind. εἰσεῖδον is very rare in Eur. though εἰσορῶ and εἰσιδεῖν &c. are very common. In the original arrangement then I believe that after Ag. had concluded the iambic prologue by stating his intention of sending the second letter before day-break, he summoned the old man from the tent in the following anapaests. 1. τῶνδε δόμων παροίθεν with a β, α, γ, written

1. πρέσβυ] the same personage (see on *v.* 47) who is here called πρεσβύτης is at 855 in both mss. (Kirchh. wrong) called Θεράπων, a word which in its Homeric and tragic use corresponds to the older English use of 'squire' or 'henchman'. The θεράπων was a subordinate of equal

social position, and often a close personal friend. Patroclus, for instance, is the θεράπων of Achilles. This irregularity in naming the personage may have been due to the fact that Euripides left the play without indicating the persons throughout, and that this indication was

στείχε. ΠΡ. στείχω. τί δὲ καινουργεῖς,  
Ἀγάμεμνον ἄναξ; ΑΓΑ. σπεύσεις; ΠΡ. σπεύδω.  
μάλα τοι γῆρας τοῦμὸν ἄπνουν  
καὶ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄξυν πάρεστιν.

5

over the words respectively L, δόμων τῶνδε πάροιθεν P. 3. πεύση P, πύση with the η crossed through and ει added, the last of these letters apparently in an erasure L, σπεῦδε Pors., σπεύσεις Dobree. To judge from Vitelli's facsimile of L, it looks as if πεύσον may have been its original reading. After much hesitation between σπεύσον and σπεύσεις; I have adopted the latter. 4. τὸ PL, τοι Barnes. Vv. 6—9. The MSS. make v. 6 a separate question and give vv. 7 and 8 to Πρεσβ. as its answer, Σείριος being thus treated as the proper name of the star. Bremi however called attention to a passage of Eratosthenes *de Ast.* c. 33 in which σείριος is said to be an adjective technically applied by ἀστρολόγοι to large bright stars διὰ τὴν τοῦ φλογὸς κίνησιν. Matthiae gives quotations from the scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. II. 518 from *Et. Mag.* p. 710, 28 and from Suidas, all supporting this use of σείριος. Still more to the point is a passage (first pointed out I believe by Kirchhoff) from Theon of Smyrna *περὶ ἀστρονομίας* XVI. (p. 202 ed. H. Martin) who after making the same statement about σείριος quotes among other passages the one in the text in the form *Τί ποτ' ἄρ' ὁ ἀστήρ ὅδε πορθμεύει σείριος*. The MSS. distribution gets some support from the imitation of the passage by Ennius preserved in Varro *L. L.* v. 19, VII. 73 Ag. *Quid noctis videtur in altisono Caeli clipeo?*

carelessly made or was the work of different hands in different parts. The list of *dramatis personae* in both MSS. gives Πρεσβύτης and Θεράπων as if they were two distinct people.—The building which formed the σκηνή for this play is here called δόμων, at v. 440 δωμάτων, and at v. 863 βασιλείων δόμων. At v. 12 Ag.'s dwelling is spoken of as a σκηνή. Monk and Hermann see in this a reason for rejecting the passage in which σκηνή occurs as spurious. They say "evidently, Ag. was living in a building, not a temporary σκηνή". But at v. 189 the Chorus talks of the κλισίαι of the Achaeans: the army therefore was encamped in temporary huts, and in all probability their leaders were also living in temporary erections of some kind. If the original stage decoration (the permanent stone σκηνή was probably not built at Athens till about 330 B.C.) was so slight that the word σκηνή became the technical term for it, it is not hard to imagine that the scenic decoration in this piece was so draped as to represent the general's

tent. To such a building it is not extraordinary that the general term δόμοι or δώματα should be applied. So at *Hec.* 665 tents are spoken of as δόμοι. We can form some idea of the building used by princes in a camp from the description given in the last book of the *Iliad* of the κλισίη of Achilles (vv. 448 ff., 643, 673, 675. See Buchholz *Hom. Real.* II. I, 342).

2. Wil.-Moell. (*Analecta Eur.* p. 197) thinks that the division of anapaestic lines here and at vv. 3, 16, 140 and 149 between different speakers, is a proof that this anapaestic part of the prologue was not written by Eur. He admits that Sophocles allowed himself that licence. This argument is of some force, but such rules cannot be admitted to be overpoweringly conclusive, when we consider how little comparatively of Euripides' poetry is left on which to form them.

4 and 5. ἄπνουν and ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄξυν] seem, from the run of the sentence, to be two predicates to πάρεστιν, both qualified by μάλα. Some interpreters prefer to

ΑΓΑ. τίς ποτ' ἄρ' ἀστὴρ ὅδε πορθμεύει  
 σείριος ἐγγὺς τῆς ἑπταπόρου  
 Πλειάδος αἴσσω· ἔτι μεσσήρης;  
 οὔκουν φθόγγος γ' οὐτ' ὀρνίθων  
 οὔτε θαλάσσης· σιγαὶ δ' ἀνέμων

10

Sen. *Temo superat Cogens sublime etiam atque etiam Noctis iter*. But the evidence of so free a paraphrase cannot outweigh: (1) the testimony of Theon: (2) the difficulty, observed by many commentators from Scaliger downwards, of supposing that Euripides could talk of Sirius as being near the Pleiades: and (3) the want of any apparent connexion in the ideas—(Ag. 'What is that star?' Sen. 'Sirius: it is still in mid heaven, and has come near the Pleiads'. Ag. 'The cocks are not crowing and the sea is still'). Hennig tries desperately hard to make some connexion apparent. Though he credits Eur. with the astronomical blunder about Sirius, he makes Ag. draw a very abstruse conclusion from the position of the star: Sirius, he says, is only in mid heaven at such an hour *late in the year*—'here' he makes Ag. say 'is Autumn come, and yet the weather is still so hot that the birds are quiet and the sea is still'. 8. αἴσσω PL, but in L a second hand has written "συνίξῃς" over the word. Cp. Hemst. on Ar. *Plut.* 732, Valck. *Phoen.* 1388, Dawes *M. C.* 230. 9—13. Monk, following the MSS. in giving 7 and 8 to the old man, gives from οὔκουν to θαλάσσης to him also, rejecting from σιγαὶ to ἀναξ as spurious. Hermann (*Opusc.*) follows him, except that he rejects οὔτε

supply a separate ἐστὶ with ἄντρον, but this gives too much weight to πάρεστιν, as if it were used in some special sense. What he says is: 'Old age is a foe to sleep, and lends nimbleness to my eyes': *i.e.* 'they are ready at once to open'. The various 'tropical' uses of δξύς, which correspond very much to those of our 'sharp', have given rise to doubts as to the meaning here. Generally, as applied to eyes, it means 'keen-sighted', but this idea is foreign to the context here. (Erasmus, however, by the *ergo* at the beginning of his next line connects the king's question with this sense of the word.)—It is important to understand when the old man appears on the stage. I think, with Bremi, that it is not till *v.* 12: that from σπεύδω to πάρεστιν are spoken from behind the scene through the door of the tent from which he appears when Ag. has finished the soliloquy contained in *vv.* 6—11 (see critical notes on *vv.* 6—9). It is certain that the old man is not on the stage to begin with,

for Ag. calls to him to come out of the tent. At first sight it looks as if στείχω is said by him while he is coming out, and that his question τί δὲ καινουργεῖς is spoken after he has appeared. But even supposing the σπεύσεις; of *v.* 3 not to be the correct reading, the σπεύδω of the answer shows that the old man is not out yet, but is still making all the haste he can to leave his couch and appear outside. If then τί δὲ καινουργεῖς Ἀγάμεμνον ἀναξ was spoken through the tent door *vv.* 4 and 5 may well have been so spoken also.

9. We must suppose that Ag. in his soliloquy puts the question about the star, like the child in Miss Taylor's hymn, without giving it an answer. His musings on the sky, the hour, and the weather serve to tell the spectators what it is important for them to know of the circumstances under which the action begins.

10. Monk says "the poet could not have used σιγαὶ in the plural". Weil,

τόνδε κατ' Εὐριπον ἔχουσιν.

ΠΡ. τί δὲ σὺ σκηνῆς ἐκτὸς αἴσσεις,

Ἀγάμεμνον ἄναξ;

ἔτι δ' ἠσυχία τῇδε κατ' Αὐλιν

καὶ ἀκίνητοι φυλακαὶ τειχέων.

15

στείχωμεν ἔσω. ΑΓΑ. ζηλῶ σέ, γέρον,

ζηλῶ δ' ἀνδρῶν ὃς ἀκίνδυνον

βίον ἐξεπέρασ' ἀγνώως ἀκλεής·

τοὺς δ' ἐν τιμαῖς ἦσσον ζηλῶ.

ΠΡ. καὶ μὴν τὸ καλὸν γ' ἐνταῦθα βίου.

20

ΑΓΑ. τοῦτο δέ γ' ἐστὶν τὸ καλὸν σφαλερόν·

καὶ τὸ πρότιμον

θαλάσσης. 16. *στείχωμεν* P, *στείχωμεν* L: this mistake of *o* for *ω* occurs several times in P. Ald. followed P and altered *ἔσω* to *εἶσω* *metr. grat.* 17 ff. This

passage, from *ζηλῶ σέ* to the end of *v.* 20, is quoted by Stobaeus *Serm.* LVIII. 2, who has *ἦσσον ἐπαινῶ* (cp. Eur. *Hērph.* 264 οὕτω τὸ λίαν ἦσσον ἐπαινῶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἄγαν): also, down to *ἀκλεής*, by Plutarch, *De Tranqui. An.* p. 471 C. Cic. *Tusc.* III. 24 says *nec siletur illud potentissimi regis anapaestum, qui laudat senem, et fortunatum esse dicit, quod inglorius sit atque ignobilis ad supremum diem perventurus.* Barnes quotes Ov. *Trist.* III. 4, 25 *Crede mihi bene qui latuit, bene vixit.* 22. καὶ τὸ

*φιλότιμον* PL: many corrections of the metre have been attempted: καὶ *φιλότιμον* or *τό τε φιλότιμον* Markl., Dindorf adopts the latter; *χω* (i.e. καὶ δ) *φιλότιμον* Lenting (so Firnh.), καὶ τὸ *πρότιμον* Nauck; Herm. rejects the verse as “*verba interpretis vel τὸ καλὸν declarare volentis, vel nescientis, recte ad explicanda praegressa verba, sine copula inferri γλυκὺ μέν*”. I have adopted Nauck's reading: *φιλότιμος* and *φιλοτιμία* are constantly used in late Greek for ‘distinguished’ and

rightly, I think, holds that the poetic beauty of the plural *σιγαί* is such that it may dispense with the authority of a parallel passage.

11. There is more difference than at first appears between this sentence and the similar one at *v.* 14. Here, as at *v.* 40, we have a case of ‘*tnesis*’: in *v.* 14 *Αὐλιν* is governed by the preposition, and makes with it an adverbial expression. (Blomfield would have made them more alike by reading *τῇνδε* for *τῇδε* at *v.* 14.) The reference in Ag.'s words is to the stillness of nature, while in the latter passage the old man says that no one is stirring yet in the town or the camp.

12. *τί δὲ σὺ*] this stillness he contrasts with Ag.'s restlessness: the emphatic *σὺ*

brings out this contrast, and serves to call out Ag.'s moralizings on the difference between the lot of a prince and that of common men:—they may rest when he cannot.

15. *τειχέων*] used of the defences of the camp, not of the walls of the town. This *v.* does not mean, ‘the watch has not gone or been changed yet’ but: ‘there is no sign of commotion among the sentinels’.

17. *ὅς*] (*‘the man who’*) is more definite than *ὅστις* (*‘a man who’*), there being a special reference to the lot of the old man himself.

20. It is best perhaps to take *βίου* with *ἐνταῦθα*. Monk quotes Aesch. *Cho.* 891 *ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δὴ τοῦδ' ἀφικόμην κακοῦ*.



γλυκὺ μέν, λύπη δὲ προσιστάμενον.  
 τοτὲ μὲν τὰ θεῶν οὐκ ὀρθωθέντ'  
 ἀνέτρεψε βίον, τοτὲ δ' ἀνθρώπων  
 γινώμαι πολλαὶ  
 καὶ δυσάρεστοι διέκναισαν.

25

ΠΡ. οὐκ ἄγαμαι ταῦτ' ἀνδρὸς ἀριστέως.  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν σ' ἐφύτευς ἀγαθοῖς,  
 Ἀγάμεμνον, Ἀτρεΐς.  
 δεῖ δέ σε χαίρειν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι.  
 θνητὸς γὰρ ἔφυσ. κἂν μὴ σὺ θέλῃς,

30

'distinction', but in Eur. the words mean 'ambitious' and 'ambition'; cf. *vv.* [520] and 527. 23. Pors. and other scholars quote a passage of the comic poet Macho which evidently parodies this line: εἶπεν, μάγειρε, μὴ προσίστα τοῦτό μοι τοῦστοῦν. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔστιν γλυκὺ. καὶ μὴν τὸ πρὸς ὅστοῦν φασὶ κρέας εἶναι γλυκὺ. ὁ Χαιρεφῶν δέ, καὶ μάλ' ὧ βέλτιστ', ἔφη, γλυκὺ μὲν προσιστάμενον δὲ λυπεῖ πανταχῇ. I have adopted Headlam's λύπη for the MSS. λυπεῖ. He would emend λυπεῖ in the quotation from Macho in the same way. In this way the πανταχῇ gains greatly in force. *Vv.* 28—33 are quoted by Stobaeus *Flor.* xciii. (though some copier, finding the lines in parallel columns, has read them down instead of along), and by Plutarch, at *Cons. ad Ap.* p. 103 and again partially at *De Aud. Poet.* p. 33. Stob. has ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔφυσ and Ἀτρεῦ and νενόμισται for βουλόμεν' ἔσται, Plut. has βουλόμεν' ἔσται. Markl. prefers ἔστιν for ἔσται, so too Herwerden.—ἀριστέος PL, ἀριστεῶς Stob. *V.* 29 occurs in a papyrus fragment of Chrysippus (Letronne,

23. προσιστάμενον] Weil takes the word here in the sense of 'to be repugnant', 'to give offence'; but the μὴ προσίστα in the passage of Macho quoted in the critical notes, and the context here, both make for the simpler meaning of 'approach, encounter'.—If λυπεῖ is correct what he says is: 'on nearer acquaintance we find it grievous'. But Headlam's λύπη gives a much better sense:—'a near neighbour to Sorrow'. He quotes Soph. *O. C.* 1216: λύπας ἐγγυτέρω.

24 ff. The displeasure of heaven and the ill-will of the multitude, spoken of by Ag. as the banes of rulers, are not mentioned here without special reference to the action of the drama. The helplessness of the Greek armament is the result of the former; and we shall find Ag. influenced in his decision by the fear of

the latter. His wife says of him at *v.* 1012 λῆαν ταρβεῖ στρατόν.—Hartung is, in my opinion, the only commentator who has rightly interpreted τὰ θεῶν ὀρθωθέντ': his note is "*errant qui ad deorum cultum neglectum haec verba referunt: nam τὰ θεῶν sunt quae divinitus eveniunt hominibus, quae cum prospera accidunt ὀρθοῦσθαι dicuntur*". There is no reference at all in this play to the story given in the prologue to the *I. T.* that Ag. had incurred the wrath of Artemis by failing to pay a vow.

28. ἀνδρὸς ἀριστέως] the genitive of the 'person in whom', as commonly with θανμάξω (Eur. *Hipp.* 1041).

29. ἐπὶ] has here the same force as in ἐφ' ὧτε, ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ('on these terms'). In other words 'unmixed good fortune was not pledged to you at your birth'. Vitelli quotes Andoc. II. 5 πάντες ἀνθρω-

τὰ θεῶν οὕτω βουλόμεν' ἔσται.

\* \* \* \*

[σὺ δὲ λαμπτήρος φάος ἀμπετάσας  
δέλτον τε γράφεις

35

τὴνδ' ἣν πρὸ χερῶν ἔτι βαστάζεις,  
καὶ ταῦτὰ πάλιν γράμματα συγχεῖς  
καὶ σφραγίζεις λύεις τ' ὀπίσω  
ρίπτεις τε πέδῳ πεύκην, θαλερόν

*Journ. des Sav.* 1838, p. 313) with the reading ἀριστέως. *Vv.* 34—42. I have marked these *vv.* as spurious for the following reasons: (1) the transition from *v.* 33 to *v.* 34 ff. is very abrupt: (2) if, as is clumsily implied by the historic presents, the Old Man saw Ag. writing the letter he must have been in the same tent, or rather division of the tent, as Ag. If so, why did Ag. call him out to speak to him? It is also more in accordance with the habit of the Greek stage that the Πρεσβύτης should make his appearance from a side door. If the old man had seen through a chink in the wall, or a door connecting his room with Ag.'s, it is not like Eur. not to have told us so: (3) in the language the following points are suspicious: the use of πρὸ χερῶν: the use of ὀπίσω for πάλιν or αὐθις: though the tragedians often use Homeric words they do not reproduce such undigested morsels as κατὰ δάκρυ χέων (*Z.* 496, δ 556): *vv.* 41 f. (though of this I do not feel so sure) seem to be modelled on *Tro.* 797 τίνος ἐνδόμεν μὴ οὐ πανσυδία χωρεῖν ὀλέθρου διὰ παντός; (4) there is indication both in P and L of uncertainty about the reading in *v.* 42, especially at the end of the *v.* Besides the fact that both mss. seem to have originally read μὴ θυμάλνεσθαι (the upper half of the θ is obscured by a dot in P and erased in L) the first τί πονεῖς is in L crowded into a small space made by an erasure. *v.* 43 in L begins with τί νέον τί νέον, the first τί νέον straggling over an erasure. In P a corrector has added the second τί νέον. Vitelli conjectures with great probability, that L had originally τί νέον τί πονεῖς at the end of *v.* 42 and τί πονεῖς τί νέον at the beginning of *v.* 43. I conjecture that, when the prologue was remodelled (cf. *Introd.* p. xxv), a passage somewhat to this purport—telling of the writing of this second letter, and the anxiety and hesitation in which it was written—was struck out

ποι γίγνονται ἐπὶ τῷ εὖ καὶ κακῶς πράττειν. Cf. also Eur. *fr.* 46 (Nauck) ὥστ' οὕτως ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἅπαντ' εὐδαιμονεῖ.

33. It is best to take together τὰ θεῶν βουλόμενα in the sense of 'the will of heaven'. Weil quotes from Antiphon *v.* 73 τὸ ὑμέτερον δυνάμενον, and τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενον. οὕτως (καλῶς &c.) ἔσται is the fut. of οὕτως (καλῶς &c.) ἔχει.

34. ἀμπετάσας] this must be, as Weil says, a poetical word for 'having kindled'. He compares ἥλιον τ' ἀναπνυχαί at *Hipp.* 601, λαμπρᾶς αἰθέρος ἀμπνυχαί *Ion* 1445 and ὀμμάτων ἀναπνυχαί at *El.* 868. Most commentators take it most prosai-

cally as 'having made the flame broader'—i.e. as we should say 'having snuffed the candle'—a mark of deliberation not likely in Ag.'s desperate state.

36. πρὸ χερῶν] can only be accounted for by supposing that the writer had the phrase πρόχειρον ἔχειν in his head. Cf. however, *Rhes.* 274.

38. ὀπίσω] is used of time in the sense of 'hereafter, in the future', but never (as here) for 'afterwards' in the sense of πάλιν or αὐθις.

39. πεύκην] best taken, with Musgr., to mean 'a writing tablet', not, as some, 'a torch'.

κατὰ δάκρυ χέων,  
καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων οὐδενὸς ἐνδεῖς  
μὴ οὐ μαίνεσθαι. τί πονεῖς;]  
τί πονεῖς; τί νέον παρὰ σοί, βασιλεῦ;  
φέρει κοίνωσον μῦθον ἐς ἡμᾶς.  
πρὸς δ' ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πιστόν τε φράσεις.  
σῇ γάρ μ' ἀλόχῳ τότε Τυνδάρειω  
πέμπει φερνῇν  
συννυμφοκόμον τε δίκαιον.

40

45

\* \* \*

λέγε καὶ σήμαιν', ἵνα καὶ γλώσση

117

from the end of the iambic prologue, and that the sense of it was given in these anapaests, which were put in to lead up to v. 110 in the spurious part of the iambic prologue composed by the same person. If the remodelling was, as Bohnhoff thinks, consequent on the accidental interchange of the two first pages, we must assume that a considerable number of the original anapaests have been lost here, *i.e.* between vv. 33 and 43: this may well have been the case anyhow. L has πεύκην πέδω with β and α over the words respectively. 43. *περί* PL, *παρὰ* Pors. (also Dobree). 45. *πρὸς ἄνδρ'* PL, *πρὸς δ' ἄνδρ'* a corrector of P. 48 and 117. The arrangement of the text which I have shown reasons in the Introduction for adopting brings these verses together. In the MSS. the verses that follow v. 114 are those numbered 115 and 116. Reiske placed vv. 117 and 118 before them and this transposition has been generally adopted by later editors. Vitelli rejects vv. 117 and 118. It seems to me the least violent and unnatural of the suppositions that have been made about the state of the text, to suppose that some anapaestic lines following v. 48 have either been accidentally lost or purposely omitted in the remodelling of the prologue. It is now our task to conjecture what the substance of these lines may have been. From what has gone before we conclude that the old 'henchman' did not know anything more than that Agamemnon was greatly disturbed and perplexed about something. From what follows we find that he had been told that a previous letter had been sent to Clytaemnestra bidding her send Iphigeneia to be married to Achilles, and that he was now at once to set off with a second letter to Clytaemnestra. The *διασκευαστής* who recast the prologue conveyed this information, I conjecture, partly in the interpolated passage—vv. 34—43,—and partly in the further interpolation at the end of the iambics—vv. 110—114—and, in case these anapaestic lines which followed v. 48 were not accidentally lost as Bohnhoff supposed, owing to the tattered condition of the bottom of the loose first

46. *τότε*] as often, referring to some well-remembered occasion—here to Ag.'s wedding.

47. *φερνῇν*] Cp. v. 869 *ὥςτι μ' ἐν ταῖς σαῖσι φερναῖς ἔλαβεν Ἀγαμέμνων ἀναξ*—a verse which among other things serves, with v. 891, to prove that the *πρεσβύτης* and the *θεράπων* of the *drama*—

*his personae* were one and the same. Cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 979 *θεραποντίδα φερνῇν* of the maiden attendants given by Danaus as his daughter's dower.

48. *συννυμφοκόμον*] not found elsewhere; it seems to mean 'bridal attendant'.

σύντονα τοῖς σοῖς γράμμασιν αὐδῶ. 118

ΑΓΑ. πέμπω σοι πρὸς ταῖς πρόσθεν 115

δέλτοις, ὦ Λήδας ἔρνος, 116

page, he (the 'diaskeuast') would naturally leave them out as saying the same thing over again. These lost anapaestic lines, then, I conjecture to have contained the statement by Agamemnon to the Old Man that he had sent a letter ordering Iphigeneia to come to be married to Achilles, and that now he, the old man, is to be the bearer of a second letter to Clytaemnestra. As the spectators already knew, from the iambic prologue, the true state of the case, it was not necessary for the poet here to be more explicit, and a few lines only need be supposed to be lost. This supposition, after a long consideration of the various difficulties in the way of any supposition whatever, I think decidedly less difficult than any other view. The transposition, in the MSS. text, of *vv.* 115 and 116 points to an original confusion at this point in some earlier MS., and this is somewhat in favour of a lacuna at this point. The old man's λέγε καὶ σήμαιν' κ.τ.λ. (*vv.* 117 and 118) may have been the result of a question of Agamemnon's as to whether he should tell him the contents of this second letter, or they may have been the concluding words of a longer speech of the old man asking to be told what the second letter contained. On the supposition of this lacuna, and with the arrangement of the prologue given in the text, the question of the Old Man at *vv.* 124 ff. is intelligible, but not otherwise. We must then further suppose that at *v.* 133, when the old man learns that the promised marriage was only a pretence, the same suspicion suddenly enters his mind, which we are told at *v.* [433] entered the minds of some of the army when they heard of Iphigeneia's arrival—*i.e.* that she was to be sacrificed for the common good of the Greeks. In *v.* 136 Ag. virtually confesses that this suspicion is correct. It is important in this connexion to compare the old man's words at *v.* 891. When there asked by Clyt. how he knew that Ag. meant to sacrifice Iph. his answer is δέλτον ψυχὴν φέρων σοι, πρὸς τὰ πρὶν γεγραμμένα. This accords very well with the theory that it was not till he heard the contents of the second letter that the old man found out what Agamemnon's purpose had been. 115. τὰς...δέλτους Monk, who

118. σύντονα.] Dindorf remarks that this meaning of σύντονος 'in harmony with' is not the usual one. The word generally means 'eager, vehement, violent'; and, of sounds 'shrill'. At *Bacch.* 1091 (συντόνοις δρομήμασι) it is generally taken to mean 'eager, swift', but it might there mean 'uniform', *i.e.* 'keeping step together'. At *v.* 126 of the same play, though the passage is probably corrupt, it seems to mean 'shrill', but at *Hipp.* 1361, which Weil quotes as an analogy for the use here, the word certainly cannot mean 'violently'. Weil there translates it 'également'. The technical sense (in music) of the compound διάτονος is in favour of the possibility of using

σύντονος in the sense of σύμμετρος. Paley thinks συντείνει at *Hec.* 189 means 'agrees'.—The reason given here, for reading out to a messenger the contents of the letter he is to carry, is not the same as that given at *I. T.* 760 ff., but the same reason as this is assigned in a passage of the *Cyrop.* (IV. 5. 26) which has been often compared with this passage:—ἵνα, εἰδὼς αὐτά, ὁμολογῆς ἂν τί σε πρὸς ταῦτα ἐρωτᾷ.

115—123. It should be observed that in reading out the letter Ag. changes from the 'regular' anapaests of the conversation to 'threnic' or 'lyric' anapaests, characteristics of which are the Doric dialect (τὰν σάν), the prevalence of



- μὴ στέλλειν τὰν σὰν ἱνιν πρὸς 119  
 τὰν κολπώδη πτέρυγ' Εὐβοίας 120  
 Αὔλιν ἀκλύσταν.  
 εἰς ἄλλας ὥρας γὰρ δὴ  
 παιδὸς δαίσομεν ὑμεναίους.  
 ΠΡ. καὶ πῶς Ἀχιλεὺς λέκτρων ἀπλακῶν  
 οὐ μέγα φυσῶν θυμὸν ἐπαρεῖ; 125  
 τόδε καὶ δεινὸν  
 σοί, σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ σήμαιν' ὅ τι φής.

compares *v.* 891. 120. Dindorf and Monk, followed by Paley, reject the τὰν at the beginning of *v.* 120, under the impression that it was added *metri gratia*. 122. In both P and L an early hand (perhaps the first) has added τὰς above εἰς ἄλλας. In P it is written fully, in L small and in an abbreviated form. This looks as if in the MSS. from which P and L were copied, the τὰς had been added small over the line—no doubt by some one who wanted to make a complete dimeter. 124. Ἀχιλλεύς P, Ἀχιλεὺς L, with space for second λ.—λέκτρ' ἀπλακῶν PL, in L κατὰ is added above λέκτρ' by an early hand, and the ἀμ is in an erasure large enough for 4 or 5 letters: λέκτρων Scaliger, ἀπλακῶν Burney (see Monk on *Hēr.* 145 and Elmsley on *Med.* 115). 125. φουσῶν PL (the first σ perhaps crossed out in L). This doubling of the σ was due to a desire to get the metre right on the part of someone who did not know the quantity of the vowel: so these MSS. write πίσσαν for Πίσαν at *I. T.* 1 and P often, and L generally, writes ἐρινύων for Ἐρινύων.—ἐπαίρει PL, ἐπαρεῖ Pors., Elms., Cobet.—The Aldine ed. put the ; after ἐπαίρει and no stop after ἀλόχῳ. I believe all subsequent editors but Firnhaber put the ; after ἀλόχῳ. 127. In P τόδε καὶ δεινὸν is written as a separate verse, in L σοί σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ is stuck in rather awkwardly (as a fresh verse—this is indicated by a small τέλος and a gap—) at the end of the preceding line, with a dash at the end. There is also a dash at the beginning of the next verse, which dashes indicate that the writer of them thought that σοί σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ and the τόδε καὶ δεινὸν ought to form one line.

spondees and the frequency of catalectic lines. Such an irregular anapaestic line as *v.* 123, where a dactyl is followed by an anapaest, is more likely to occur in lyric anapaests than in the systematic anapaests.

119. μὴ στέλλειν] For πέμπειν with no direct obj. and followed by an infin., like a verb of commanding, L. and S. compare Xen. *Hel.* III. 1. 7, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισσαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.

120. κολπώδη πτέρυγ' Εὐβοίας] 'the wing-shaped Euboean bay'. I think Paley is right in taking the Αὔλιν of the

next *v.* in apposition to πτέρυγα, and in regarding the whole expression as a description of the bay of Aulis. The poet calls it the Euboean bay, by way of indicating that Euboea made one side of it.

125. ἐπαρεῖ] Cobet (*Var. lect.* 607) remarks that *I. T.* 117 is the only passage in which transcribers have left the future ἀρῶ unaltered (? *Pers.* 795).

127. σήμαιν' ὅ τι φής] This is difficult. At first sight it looks as if he were going to say 'tell me what you mean to say' (*i.e.* 'when Achilles visits you with his wrath'). But the φής can-

ΑΓΑ. ὄνομ', οὐκ ἔργον παρέχων Ἀχιλεὺς  
οὐκ οἶδε γάμους, οὐδ' ὅ τι πρᾶσσομεν,  
οὐδ' ὅτι κείνῳ παῖδ' ἐπέφημισα  
νυμφείους εἰς ἀγκώνων  
εὐνάς ἐκδώσειν λέκτροις.

130

ΠΡ. δεινὰ γ' ἐτόλμας, Ἀγάμεμνον ἄναξ.  
οὐ τῷ τῆς θεᾶς σὴν παῖδ' ἄλοχον

These amount to slight indications of a confusion in the MS. from which P and L were copied, as to the relative position of the two anapaestic διποδία. I conjecture therefore that the passage originally ran καὶ πῶς...ἐπαρεῖ; | τόδε καὶ δεινόν σοι, σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ | σήμαιν' ὅ,τι φῆς. (See explanatory notes.) 128. Libanius *Ep.* 1398, p. 642 τοῦτο δέ ἐστι δοκοῦντος φιλεῖν οὐ φιλοῦντος, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τραγωδίαν ὄνομ' ἀντ' ἔργου παρεχομένον. Unger, who first quoted this passage (and emended the MS. ἐν τερπῶνι τοῦ ἀντ' ἔργου) thinks we ought to read ἀντ' ἔργου for οὐκ ἔργου here. So Nauck. If Libanius did quote from this tragedy he most likely slightly altered the original to illustrate his point better.—ἀχιλλεύς PL, corr. in P to ἀχιλεὺς. 129. P began to write ποι- but altered it to πρᾶσσ-. 130. ἐπέφημισα PL, ἐπεφήμισα Markland. 132. ἐκδώσειν PL, ἐκδώσειν Markland. 133. δεινὰ γε πολὺς PL, δεινὰ γ' ἐτόλμας Markl. 134. οὕτω τῆς PL, δς τῷ τῆς one of the Paris copies of L and so Canter. Markl. reads οὕτω τῷ θεᾶς and puts a ; after Δαναοῖς. I have adopted Markland's ; and suggest οὐ τῷ τῆς. This involves less alteration

not refer to the future, and σήμαινε means 'say distinctly, explain', rather than merely 'tell'. Several editors have accordingly followed Musgrave in giving the words τόδε καὶ δεινόν to Ag., and taking τόδε to mean 'this other thing (that I am going to mention)'. To such a remark σήμαιν' ὅ,τι φῆς would be a very good answer on the part of the old man, but on reading the whole passage we see that the question begun in v. 124 wants an answer ; and that vv. 128—132 must be the answer to that question. If the text is right I think it is best to suppose, with Firnhaber, that the words σήμαιν' ὅ,τι φῆς are a request from the old man for an explanation of some gesture or exclamation on the part of the king. This being the best that can be made of the existing text, it is natural to suppose that something is wrong in it. (See critical notes.) The meaning of the text as I have printed it would be 'This is enough to make you afraid ; let me know what

you are saying' (in the letter, that is) 'to your wife' (about it).

128. If Unger is right (see C. N.) in supposing Libanius to refer to this passage it is a proof that the passage was a very well known one ; for it is not in itself either striking or a strikingly apposite parallel to the words it illustrates. Cp. on v. 1173 below.

129 'Knows nothing about a marriage or of our plot either.'

130. κείνῳ] I doubt if any other instance can be found of an oblique case of ἐκείνους used in a subordinate sentence of the subject of a principal verb of saying or knowing. Hennig compares *Or.* 292 : there however ἐκείνους is in the nom., and the contrast necessary between it and the ἐγὼ δ' of the next v. makes its employment natural. It is going too far though to say that this use of κείνῳ is impossible. There is no danger of its being taken to refer to any one but Achilles. It is an extreme instance of

- φατίσας ἦγες σφάγιον Δαναοῖς; 135  
 ΑΓΑ. οἷμοι, γνώμας ἐξέσταν,  
 αἰαῖ, πίπτω δ' εἰς ἄταν.  
 ἀλλ' ἴθ' ἐρέσσω σὸν πόδα, γήρα  
 μῆδ' ἐν ὑπείκων. ΠΡ. σπείδω, βασιλεῦ. 140  
 ΑΓΑ. μή νυν ἀλσώδεις ἴζου  
 κρήνας, μήθ' ὑπνω θελχθῆς.  
 ΠΡ. εὐφημα θρόει.  
 ΑΓΑ. πάντῃ δὲ πόρον σχιστὸν ἀμείβων  
 λεῦσσε, φυλάσσω μή τίς σε λάθῃ 145  
 τροχαλοῖσιν ὄχοις παραμειψαμένη  
 παῖδα κομίζουσ' ἐνθάδ' ἀπήνη  
 Δαναῶν πρὸς ναῦς.  
 ΠΡ. ἔσται τάδε. ΑΓΑ. κλήθρων δ' ἐξόρμοις

of the mss. reading than any other alteration, and suits the view I have adopted in the Introduction (p. xxiv f.). These words express the first utterance on the part of the old man of his sudden guess at the true state of the case. 141. I have left

out the *μητ'* which L and P have before *ἀλσώδεις*: there are indications that some would-be metrical reformer has been at work in this passage expanding catalectic dimeters to acatalectic ones, and I think the introduction of this *μητ'* was a piece of his work. In P there is an erasure big enough to hold 2 or 3 letters before the *ης* of *θέλχθης*: possibly the same metrical corrector had introduced a syllable into this word to make this line also a full dimeter. 145. *τί σε* PL, *τίς σε* Markl.

148. *ναοὺς* corr. by a late hand to *ναῦς* P, *ναοὺς* with the *ο* erased and a *ν* added over the *υ* L. *υν*. 149—151. The original mss. version of these much emended lines was

- ΠΡ. ἔσται ΑΓ κλήθρων δ' ἐξόρμα 149  
 ἦν νιν πομπαῖς ἀντήσης 150  
 πάλιν ἐξορμάσης χαλινούς. 151

the Greek tendency to modify the normal form of 'reported speech' to suit the exigencies of a particular case.—*ἐπεφήμσα* seems used in the sense of 'allege', 'profess' (to Clytaemnestra): possibly the *ἐπὶ* has here something of the force it has in *ἐπιρκος* and *ἐπιρκεῖω*. *ἐπιφάσκω* was used in later Greek in the sense of 'pretend'.—*κείνῳ λέκτροις* = *κείνου λέκτροις*.

136. In these words Ag. admits the truth of the astonished old man's suspicion.

138 f. In a fragment of the *Iphigenia* of Ennius we read *procede gradum pro-*

*ferre pedum, Nitere: cessas o fide senex?* words which clearly recall these lines, as was first perceived by Scaliger.

142. *κρήνας*] Such an accusative, though not found elsewhere with *ἔζομαι* is found several times with *ἔξομαι*, and is common with *θάσσειν*.

143. *εὐφημα θρόει*] 'Mind what you say!'—a variety of *εὐφημα φώνει*, 'favete linguis'—vehemently repelling the suggestion that it was possible that he should go to sleep on such a mission.

149. *κλήθρων*] The barred doors, from which Iphigenia and her escort

ἦν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἀντήσης,  
 πάλιν ὄρμησον, σείε χαλινούς,  
 ἐπὶ Κυκλώπων ἰεὶς θυμέλας.

150

ΠΡ. πιστὸς δὲ φράσας τάδε πῶς ἔσομαι,  
 λέγε, παιδί σέθεν [τῇ σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ];

The emending began in the MSS. L has *ἔσται* τάδε for the simple *ἔσται* of P. In L in 149 there is an erasure before the ο of *ἐξόρμα*. In both MSS. a γὰρ was inserted between ἦν and νιν (without any alteration of the accent of the ἦν). ἀντήσης was in P corrected (not by the first hand) to ἀντήσεις and ἐξορμάσης corr. in both MSS. (certainly P and I think also L read -ης originally) to ἐξορμάσεις. In L a τοὺς was inserted after ἐξορμάσεις in v. 151 (by the metrical reformer who thought the penult of χαλινούς was short). The more important corrections made in later times are Hermann's transposition of v. 149:—he put it after v. 152 but subsequently adopted Monk's view that it was spurious:—Blomfield's ἐξόρμα σείε for ἐξορμάσεις in 151. Wecklein proposes ἐξορμάσῃς in 149 and εἰσόρμα in 151. Weil ἐξόρμους in 149 (Hermann had proposed ἐξόρμους in v. 151) and (ingeniously) ἐξ ὀρμᾶς in 151. Weil also reads .οὖν for νιν in 150. I have adopted Weil's ἐξόρμους and Blomfield's σείε (though the discovery that the MS. from which P and L were copied probably had ἐξορμάσης makes this seem less certain than before), I also read ταῖς for νιν (which I think may have been due to the ν in the πάλιν at the same place in the next line) and I imagine that the origin of the corruption in v. 151 was that a transcriber, with the ἐξόρμ<οις> of v. 149, and possibly also the common phrase πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς in his head, wrote by mistake πάλιν ἐξόρμα, (or perhaps πάλιν ἐξόρμησον) instead of πάλιν ὄρμησον.

154. σέθεν τῇ σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ PL. I have no hesitation in following Vitelli in regarding τῇ σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ as an interpolation due to a reminiscence of v. 126. Not only is there no reason why either Ag. or the old man should think Clytaemnestra would be with Iphigeneia when he met her, but the addition makes both question and answer unmeaning. The old man is not asking how he is to gain credit for the *letter* but for his *words* (φράσας τάδε),

may have emerged, are I think rightly explained by Weil to be those of the ὀχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι of v. 738. Callimachus, he says, calls (*frag.* 118) young girls κατάκλειστοι. (ἡ παῖς ἡ κατάκλειστος. So Philo *Jud.* 11. 530 γυναῖκα κατάκλειστα μηδὲ τῆς αὐλείου προερχόμενα, καὶ θαλαμειόμεναι παρθένοι.) Eur. has transferred to the heroic age the customs of his own time. Homer's maidens are not so shut up.

152. ἐπὶ Κυκλώπων θυμέλας] Musgrave translates θυμέλαι by *atria ampla et magnifica*. Weil, following a traditional interpretation for which I can find no early authority, says they are *les murs sacrés*. So Paley—'the piles of ancient masonry'. At *El.* 715 Euripides

uses the word apparently in the sense of *temple*:—the altar, being to the temple what the hearth is to the home, may well have been used instead of it. If this is the meaning of the word here we must suppose the expression, like the Κυκλωπὶς ἑστία cf. *I. T.* v. 845, to be a picturesque synonym for Mycenae—'the Cyclopean shrines'. (So Monk.)

153 f.—156. If the old man met Iphigeneia on the way, he would not be able to give her the letter; *that* was for her mother's hands, and neither he nor Agamemnon anticipated that Clytaemnestra would come with her daughter (cp. C. N. on v. 100). Such a message delivered verbally would naturally want confirma-



ΑΓΑ. σφραγίδα φύλασσε' ἦν ἐπὶ δέλτῳ  
 τήνδε κομίζεις. ἴθι. λευκαίνει  
 τόδε φῶς ἤδη λάμπουσ' ἡὼς  
 πῦρ τε τεθρίππων τῶν Ἀελίου.  
 σύλλαβε μόχθων.  
 θνητῶν δ' ὄλβιος εἰς τέλος οὐδεὶς  
 οὐδ' εὐδαίμων.  
 οὐπω γὰρ ἔφυν τις ἄλλυπος.

155

160

## Πάροδος.

ΧΟ. ἔμολον ἀμφὶ παρακτίαν

στρ.

supposing he meets Iphigeneia after she has started.  
 line is omitted in P. 156. τήνδε PL, τῇδε L<sup>1</sup>.

155. The ΑΓ. before this  
 164. παρ' ἀκτὰν PL corr.

tion. Agamemnon meets the difficulty admirably: he says, in effect 'you need not undo the letter: keep the seal intact and that will be a sufficient warrant for your message'.

vv. 156—159. With these lines compare the words with which, at vv. 82 ff. of the *Ion*, the hero on his first appearance salutes the dawn. I think the run of the sentence here is in favour of taking λευκαίνει intransitively and λάμπουσα transitively. Most editors prefer though to take them the other way.

157. ἡὼς] This is the only instance of this epic form in tragedy. 'Photius has preserved the fact that Xenophon used ἡὼς for ἔως.' Rutherford *Novo Phryg.* p. 164.

vv. 161—163. These verses, forming the conventional conclusion to the scene, must have been spoken, as Firnhaber remarks, after the old man had left the stage. The 'γνώμη' is quoted by Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* III. 3, 23 (Weil) and Orion *Anthol.* VIII. 8 (Firnh.).

εἰς τέλος] These words cannot here have their ordinary meaning of 'at last', nor is there any reason, except that such a translation would give a suitable meaning in this passage, for taking them as equivalent to διὰ τέλους. I think that

here and at *Hec.* 817 ἐς τέλος is used nearly in the sense of *in fact*; somewhat like the French *enfin*.

At v. 164 begins the Parodus. The chorus consists of young married women from Chalcis whose curiosity has led them to come across the strait to see the encampment at Aulis. That they were young we may conclude from vv. 186 f. and from the fact that they are addressed by Iphigeneia at v. 1310 as κόραι, and at vv. 1468 and 1492 as νεάνιδες. This latter fact has been taken by Hermann (*Dissertatio* &c.) as supporting Dindorf's statement that the members of the chorus were unmarried girls, and his consequent rejection of vv. 171—184 because in them the chorus talks of their husbands. Dindorf does not however reject vv. 548 f. in which the chorus say ἀπενέπω νιν ἀμετέρων Κύπρι καλλίστα θαλάμων, which hardly sounds natural in the mouths of unmarried girls. Nor, again, as Arnoldt (*Chor. Tech.* 103) has shown, are the terms κόρη and νεάνις confined to unmarried girls. At v. 489 of the *Andromache* the heroine is called τὴν τάλαιναν Ἰλιάδα κόραν (cf. also *Suppl.* 1073 and *EL.* 481) and at v. 192 of the same play Andromache calls Hermione νεάνις (cf. *Soph. Trach.* 307 f. τίς ποτ'

ψάμαθον Αὐλίδος ἐναλίας, 165  
 Εὐρίπου διὰ χευμάτων  
 κέλσασα στενοπόρθμων,  
 Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἐμὰν προλιποῦσ',  
 ἀγχιάλων ὑδάτων τροφὸν  
 τᾶς κλεινᾶς Ἀρεθούσας, 170  
 Ἀχαιῶν στρατιὰν ὥς ἐσιδοίμαν  
 ἀγαυῶν τε πλάτας ναυσιπόρους

by an early hand in both to παρακτίαν, in P the accent is altered and the apostrophe and breathing crossed out, in L only the ι is inserted. 167. στενόπορθμων PL, στενοπόρθμων Weil (the mistake of ο for ω is a common one in these MSS.) 168 f. Both P and L originally made 168 end at the ι of προλιποῦσα: in both the correction is made of shifting the πον from ν. 169 to the end of 168, leaving the σ' in 169. Such a curiously identical correction could not have been made independently in each MS. and yet it is by an early hand. In 189, the ν. of the antistrophe corresponding to 168, in L the ας of κλισίας is erased and is added at the beginning of ν. 190. There are in L several other such shiftings, but in most cases the transposed syllables have been shifted back again (see Vitelli's facsimile). 171. ὥς ἴδοιμ' ἂν PL with no gap or erasure after the ὥς, καὶ ἴδοιμ' ἂν a Paris copy of L (where the καὶ is a mistake for ὥς), ὥς ἂν ἴδοιμαν Markl. ὥς ἐσιδοίμαν Elms. ὥς κατιδοίμαν Dind. I have adopted Elmsley's reading, as I think it very likely (Vitelli compares *El.* 1242 where the MS. has ὥς εἶδομεν, and the ed. princ. εἰσεἶδομεν) that ἐσ- may have been omitted after ὥς from the similarity of the abbreviations in cursive writing -ς (ὥς) and -ς(εσ). 171. Ἀχαιῶν PL Ἀτρειδᾶν Camper on *Electr.* 246. 172. Ἀχαιῶν PL ἀγαυῶν Nauck. Hermann and

εἰ νεανίδων, ἄνδρος, ἢ τεκνοῦσσα;) Another reason for supposing the members of the chorus to be married women is that it would have seemed to the audience (cf. above on ν. 149) impossible for a troop of unmarried girls to have come on such an expedition.—The parodos does nothing to further the action of the tragedy. It serves to give the audience a view of the surroundings of the scene of action—of the composition, situation and anticipations of the Greek forces encamped at Aulis. The metre is mostly logaedic but in the middle of the strophe and antistrophe comes an ionic passage (νν. 171—174, and 192—195). See the appendix on the metres at the end of the book. The strophe and antistrophe are followed by an epode (νν. 206—230).—Nearly

all editors are agreed in regarding νν. 231—302 as a later interpolation and not from the hand of Euripides. It is a mere catalogue of the forces modelled on that in the second book of the *Iliad*—‘*putidissimus index*’ Hermann calls it.

169. ὑδάτων τροφὸν] It seems to us more natural to regard the city or land as fed by the spring than as feeding it. A still stranger metaphorical use of the word occurs at *El.* 54:—ὦ νῦξ μέλαινα χρυσέων ἄστρον τροφέ.

170. τᾶς κλεινᾶς Ἀρεθούσας] The scholiast on ν. 408 says Ἀρέθουσαι δὲ τέσσαρες, ἐν Συρακούσῃ, ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἐν Χαλκίδι, καὶ ἐν Ἰθάκῃ.

171—178. In these verses the chorus say why they came: they wanted to see firstly the *army* (ν. 171) and secondly the

- ἡμιθέων, οὓς ἐπὶ Τροί-  
 αν ἐλάταις χιλιόναυσιν  
 τὸν ξανθὸν Μενελάον θ' 175  
 ἀμέτεροι πόσεις  
 ἐνέπουσ' Ἀγαμέμνονά τ' εὐπατρίδαν  
 στέλλειν ἐπὶ τὰν Ἑλέναν, ἀπ'  
 Εὐρώτα δονακοτρόφου  
 Πάρις ὁ βουκόλος ἂν ἔλαβε, 180  
 δῶρον τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας,  
 ὅτ' ἐπὶ κρηναίαισι δρόσοις  
 Ἥρα Παλλάδι τ' ἔριν ἔριν  
 μορφᾶς ἁ Κύπρις ἔσχεν.  
 πολύθυτον δὲ δι' ἄλσος Ἀρ-  
 τέμιδος ἦλυθον ὀρομένα,  
 φοινίσσουσα παρῇδ' ἐμὴν  
 αἰσχύνῃ νεοθαλεῖ,  
 ἀσπίδος ἔρυμα καὶ κλισίας ἀντ. 185

Monk had noticed that if the Ἀχαιῶν were repeated δέ and not τε was the right particle to follow it. (In the article in his *Opuscula* Hermann cuts to pieces, rearranges and alters this chorus to such an extent as finally to settle the question of its authorship.) 173. ἡμιθέων PL, ἡθέων Markland. ὡς PL, οὓς Scaliger, ἄς Herm. at *I. T.* 58 P has ὡς where L has οὓς. 175. Μενελάον PL, Μενελαόν θ' Weil. The θ' helps both sense and metre: the line is in the middle of a stanza or period, and therefore no such pause is possible as would make the -ον equal to a long syllable (cf. *v.* 196). 174. χιλιόναυσι PL. In P the ν is added and the -σιν put into this *v.* from the next by a corrector: in L the whole word was written in this *v.* originally. 177. ἐνέπουσ' PL, corrected in both to ἐνέπουσ'. 180. ἔλαβεν P with the ν obliterated by a blot (which Wil.-Möll. thinks accidental: and that there was no ν under it). ἔλαβε L. 183 f. ἔριν ἔριν | μορφᾶς ἁ PL, ἔριν ἔκρινε | μορφᾶς ἂν Pors. This correction was made on the assumption that Νιρέα is in quantity — — —: but even supposing that Nauck is not right in reading Νιρή there (cf. *Rhes.* 708 Ὀδυσσῆ, *El.* 439 Ἀχιλλῆ, or Ἀχιλλῆ, *Alc.* 25 ἱερῇ), the -εα can be scanned as one long syllable as at Ar. *Thesm.* 26 Ἡρακλέα, and at *Rhes.* 977 ἔπειτ' Ἀχιλλέα Θέτιδος ἐν πένθει ποτέ. 186. ὀρωμέναν PL, ὀρομένα Canter.

*ships* of the chieftains (ἀγανῶν ἡμιθέων—  
 M 23 ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν of the war-  
 riors who fell on the banks of the Simois)  
 who had joined the expedition. στέλλειν  
 in *v.* 178 does not mean *equip*, or *send*,  
 but *lead*, *take*, *conduct*.

185. πολύθυτον] As Vitelli well says,

this adjective, applied to the sacred grove  
 of Artemis, “is already a hint of another  
 sacrifice soon to be accomplished there”.

188. νεοθαλεῖ] At *Ion* 112 Eur.  
 uses the form νεοθαλής. The adj. con-  
 veys the notion of the *freshness*, and  
*brilliance* of the colour of the blush.—lit.

ὀπλοφόρους Δαναῶν θέλουσ' 190  
 ἵππων τ' ὄχλον ιδέσθαι.  
 κατείδον δὲ δὺ' Αἴαντε συνέδρω  
 τὸν Οἰλέως Τελαμῶνός τε γόνον,  
 τὸν Σαλαμῖνος στέφανον,  
 Πρωτεσίλαόν τ' ἐπὶ θάκοις 195  
 πεσσῶν ἡδομένους μορ-  
 φαῖσι πολυπλόκοις,  
 Παλαμῆδεά θ', ὃν τέκε παῖς ὁ Ποσει-  
 δᾶνος, Διομῆδεά θ' ἡδο-

190. In P there was originally ἐθέλουσ', the first ε being crossed out, in L there is an erasure before the θ. 191. ὄχλον τ' P, ὄχλον followed by an erasure L, τ' ὄχλον Heath.

193. Ὀϊλέως PL, as at v. 263: it is possible that we ought to read Ἰλέως at both places. Τελαμῶνος ἔκγονον corr. to T. τε γόνον P, Τελαμῶνός τε γόνον L with an erasure before the γ.

194. τοῖς Σαλαμῖνοις PL (corr. to τοῖς Σαλαμῖνος by a late hand in P), τὸν Σαλαμῖνος Hartung. 196. πεσῶν P corr.

“reddening my cheek with the shame of fresh youth”.

190. ὀπλοφόρους] It is clear that the second half of this compound has quite lost its force, the whole word being equivalent to *martial, soldiers*.

192. συνέδρω] (penult long here) means ‘sitting talking together’.

194. τὸν Σαλαμῖνος στέφανον] Cf. *Herc. Fur.* 875 ἀποκρίεται σὺν ἄνθος πόλεος ὁ Διὸς ἔκγονος.

196. ἡδομένους] the number of συνέδρω and its meaning suggest that the two Ajaces made a group by themselves apart from the two draught-players next mentioned. Hence we must suppose that ἡδομένους qualifies not, as Matthiae says, the Ajaces as well but only Protesilaus and Palamedes. This construction is called the σχῆμα Ἀλκμανικόν. A scholiast on a passage of Pindar in which it occurs (*Pyth.* iv. 318)—τὸν μὲν Ἐχλῖνα, κεχλάδοντας ἦβα, τὸν δ' Ἐρυτον—says, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς φράσεως Ἀλκμανικόν. πρὶν γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ δύο ὀνόματα μέσσην ἔταξε τὴν μετοχὴν. Another scholiast says the σχῆμα got its name οὐχ ὅτι ὁ μελοποιὸς Ἀλκμᾶν εὔρεν αὐτὸ, ἀλλ' ὅτι, Ὀμήρου

εὐρόντος, ἔχαιρεν ἐκεῖνος τῷ σχήματι. Instances in Homer are *Υ* 138, *E* 774, κ 513 where (finite) plural verbs come in between two singular subjects. The scholiast on the last named passage says τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα καλεῖται προδιέξενυγμένον καὶ καθ' ὑπερβατόν, ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ Ἀλκμανικόν. Cf. also *Alcm. frag.* 9 [3] Κάστωρ τε πῶλων ὠκέων δματῆρες ἵππῳ σοφοί, καὶ Πωλυδεύκης κυδρός. The irregularity of the construction is lessened here by the fact that the plural θάκοις has shown that more than one man is being talked of. Protesilaus would not be sitting on two chairs.

198. With reference to Palamedes Vitelli quotes *Soph. fr.* 380 οὔτος..... χρόνον τε διατριβὰς σοφωτάτας ἐφέυρε φλοίσβου μετὰ κοπὴν καθημένους, πέσσοις κύβους τε, τερπνὸν ἀργίας ἄκος: the οὔτος is said by Eustathius, who preserved the fragment, to be Palamedes.

196. μορφαῖσι πολυπλόκοις] ‘intricate patterns’; the intricacy was not entirely that apparent to the eye: the word πολυπλόκοις doubtless refers to the skill required for the game, whatever it was.



ναῖς δίσκου κεχαρημένον,  
παρὰ δὲ Μηριόνην, Ἄρεος  
ὄζον, θαῦμα βροτοῖσι,  
τὸν ἀπὸ νησαίων τ' ὀρέων  
Λαέρτα τόκον, ἅμα δὲ Νι-  
ρέα, κάλλιστον Ἀχαιῶν.

200

205

τὸν ἰσάνεμόν τε ποδοῖν  
λαιψηροδρόμον Ἀχιλλῆα,  
τὸν ἅ Θέτις τέκε καὶ  
Χείρων ἐξεπόννησεν,  
εἶδον αἰγιαλοῖσι

ἐπωδός

210

παρά τε κροκάλαις δρόμον ἔχοντα σὺν ὄπλοις·  
ἅμιλλαν δ' ἐπόνει ποδοῖν  
πρὸς ἄρμα τέτρωρον

by a later hand to πεσσῶν, πεσσῶν L.  
Nauck.

204. Νι is in an erasure in L. Νιρῇ  
209. ἐξεπόννησεν P, ἐξεπόννησεν L, corr. to ἐξεπόννησεν. 211. κρο-

200. κεχαρημένον] Other instances of this form are at *Hymn. Hom.* v. 458 and vii. 10, and *Ar. Wasps* 389, Theocr. xxvii. 71. κέχαρμαι is commoner.

201. Ἄρεος ὄζον] This is a slight variety of the very common Homeric ὄζος Ἀρήος, just as the following words are a modification of the Homeric θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι. It has been suggested that Eur. had in mind the fact mentioned by Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* i. 7. 7. that Molus (who was the father of Meriones) was the son of Ares.

203. νησαίων ὀρέων] This is another Homeric reminiscence. At i 21 Odysseus says ναϊετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελλον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ. The late position of the τε here and in v. 206, like the *schema Alcmænicum* in v. 196 gave doubtless a quaintness to the verse.

205. κάλλιστον Ἀχ.] This fact is almost all that Homer tells us about Nireus. B 671—673.

206. ἰσάνεμον ποδοῖν] ποδοῖν is I think best taken as a genitive, the con-

struction being of the same kind as παρά-κοποι φρενῶν *Bacch.* 33, φρενῶν κεκομμένος *Aesch. Ag.* 479.

209. ἐξεπόννησεν] Jacobs compared with this use of the word Theocr. xiii. 8 ff. καὶ μιν πάντ' ἐδίδαξε πατὴρ ὥσει φίλον νιέα...ὥς αὐτῷ κατὰ θυμὸν ὁ παῖς πεπονάμενος εἶη.

210 f. αἰγιαλοῖσι παρά τε κροκάλαις] "*littoreis in harenis*" Erasmus. The παρά goes in sense with both the nouns: *by the sea-shore and the shingle*. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 761 ἀγρούς σφε πέμψαι καπὶ ποιμνίων νομάς. Jebb, in his note on that passage, cites *vv.* 734 and 1205 of the same play, and *Soph. El.* 780—οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας, as other instances of this construction. There is no need to put in a prep. with αἰγ. as *Herm. (ἐπ')* and *Fritzsche (ἐν)* propose. κροκάλαι· ψῆφοι, ἄκται, ἄμμος *Hesych.* (*Musgrave*). σὺν ὄπλοις· *i.e.* equipped as for battle.

213. ποδοῖν] gen.

ἐλίσσων περὶ νίκας. 215  
 ὁ δὲ διφρηλάτας ἐβοᾶτ'  
 Εὐμηλος Φερητιάδας,  
 ᾧ καλλίστους ἰδόμαν  
 χρυσοδαιδάλους στομίους  
 πώλους κέντρῳ θεινομένους, 220  
 τοὺς μὲν μέσους ζυγίους,  
 λευκοστίκῳ τριχὶ βαλιούς,  
 τοὺς δ' ἔξω σειροφόρους,  
 ἀντήρεις καμπαῖσι δρόμων,  
 πυρσότριχας, μονόχαλα δ' ὑπὸ σφυρὰ 225

τάλαις P, κροκάλαις L. 215. νίκας PL, νύσσας Musgr. 216. βοᾶτ' PL, ἐβοᾶτ' Dind. 218. εἰδόμαν PL, ἰδόμαν Dind. 219. στομοιοισι P, στομίους L. 223. σειροφόρους PL, σειροφόρους Dind. 224. καμπαῖσι PL, (?) perhaps Wil.-Möhl. is right in saying that L originally had καμπαῖς. 225. πυρ-

215. ἐλίσσων] *going round and round* (the course), with especial reference to the turning-point or goal. The active is thus used at Ψ 309 (οἶσθα γὰρ εὖ περὶ τέρμαθ' ἐλίσσόμεν) with ἵππους understood; at Or. 172 we have the phrase ἐλίσσειν πόδα in the sense of turn (to depart). It is easy to see how the active came (as at *Phoen.* 241 and Or. 1292—ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἐνθάδ' αἱ δ' ἐκεῖς ἐλίσσετε) to be used in the same sense as ἐλίσσεσθαι. Jacobs and Matthiae take ἐλίσσων as governing ἄμιλλαν here. Bremi supplies πόδε, from ποδοῖν, as its object.

περὶ νίκας] At Ψ 437, in the account of the chariot race, we have ἐπειγόμενοι περὶ νίκης.

217. Φερητιάδας] The termination here, as in Αἰακίδας as applied to Achilles, means the descendant of, not the son of. Eumelus was the son of Admetus, who was the son of Pheres.

218. καλλίστους] B 603 ἵπποι μὲν μέγ' ἄρισται ἔσαν Φηρητιάδαι (though in this passage Φηρητιάδης means Admetus) τὰς Εὐμηλος ἔλανε. Cf. also the account of the chariot race in Ψ.

223. σειροφόρος] καὶ ἄζυξ· ὁ λεγόμενος κέλης ἵππος. Suidas.

224. ἀντήρεις] Is it not possible that

this word means *suitable to*, here? and that καμπαὶ δρόμων means the same as δρόμοι κάμπιοι at I. 7. 81? i.e. the horses could turn the corners better because the two outside ones were not yoked. Some extraordinary explanations have been given of ἀντήρης on the assumption that the second part of the word is the root of ἐρέσσω (see e.g. Suidas s.v.). It is now generally held (see L. and S. s.v.—ήρης) that the -ήρης in all the compounds in which it forms the second part, even in τριήρης itself, comes from the root ἀρ *fit*. In conjecturing though that ἀντήρης means *convenient for, suited to*, I do not rely so much on this derivation—for the -ήρης in all these compounds seems little more than a derivative syllable—as on the sense of *meeting* in ἀντάω &c. and that of *equivalent to, corresponding to*, which ἀντί has e.g. in ἀντιδίδωμι, and which developed—in its derivative *antidote*—almost into the meaning *suitable for*. Such a derivative as ἀντήρης may have had sometimes one of the meanings of ἀντί, sometimes another. At *Phoen.* 761 it means 'as an opponent', at 1376 'in battle'.

225. ὑπό] is adverbial and σφυρὰ the acc. of specification.

ποικιλοδέρμονας· οἷς παρεπάλλετο  
Πηλεΐδας σὺν ὅπλοισι παρ' ἄντυγα  
καὶ σύριγγας ἀρματείους.

230

[ναῶν δ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἦλθον  
καὶ θεὰν ἀθέσφατον,  
τὰν γυναικεῖον ὄψιν ὁμμάτων  
ὥς πλήσαιμι μελίφρον' ἄδονάν.

στρ.

καὶ κέρας μὲν ἦν  
δεξιὸν πλάτας ἔχων  
Φθιώτας ὁ Μυρμιδὼν Ἄρης  
πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ θουρίαις.

235

χρυσέαις δ' εἰκόσιν κατ' ἄκρα Νη-  
ρῆδες ἔστασαν θεαί,  
πρύμναις σῆμ' Ἀχιλλείου στρατοῦ.

240

ρότρηας PL, πυρσότρηας Monk. 226. ποικιλοδέρμονας P, ποικιλοδέρμονας L and Ald., which is noticeable, as Ald. probably printed from P. 229. Πηλεΐδας PL, Πηλεΐδας Elmsley. ὅπλοις PL, ὅπλοις Heath. 233. γυναικεῖαν PL, γυναικεῖον Boeckh. 234. μέλινον PL, μελιχόν Markl. and Musgr. The writer of these verses hardly ever forsakes the trochaic measure, and does not put in a dactyl unless in a proper name with two short syllables, or in the place in the strophe or antistrophe which corresponds to such a name. As a rule he carefully observes the strophical correspondence. Seeing that neither μελινον (which whoever wrote it must have meant for an adjective from μέλι) nor μελιχόν furnish a corresponding rhythm to that of v. 245, I suspect that he wrote μελίφρον' with the second syll. scanned long. 237. Μυρμιδόνων PL, Μυρμιδών Hermann cf. v. 1352. 239. χρυσέαισι with the final ι erased P, χρυσέαις L (?): ἄκραν PL, ἄκρα Pierson. 240. With reference to Wil-Möll.'s note on v. 819 (*An. Eur.* p. 41) it may be worth noticing here that both P and L have an ι subscript under the η, and not, as often, η̣. 241. πρύμναισι corr. to πρύμναις PL.

226. παρεπάλλετο] 'went bounding along by'. Suidas gives ἄλλεται as one of the meanings of πάλλει. At *EL.* 435 and 477 Eur. uses the active of πάλλω in the same sense—*ἴν' ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελφίς*, and *τετραβάμονες ἔπποι ἔπαλλον*.

231. ἀριθμός] is not used like our 'number' in the sense of 'a multitude'; *εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἔλθειν* is a phrase probably coined by the writer on the analogy of *εἰς λόγους ἔλθειν*: 'I fell to numbering' the fleet, (and took in) the boundless view'.

236. πλάτας] Brodeau and Weil are doubtless right in taking this to be gen.

sing. in the sense of *fleet*; but the usage does not appear to be a classical one. It is one thing to use a word for *oar* (see L. and S. *s.v.* κώπη) as a general poetical equivalent for travelling by sea, or the means of such travelling—to say, *e.g.* 'The Greek oar is swift' instead of 'the Greek fleet is swift'—and quite another to use *oar* for *fleet* in such an enumeration as the present, and to talk of the 'right wing of the Greek oar'.

239. χρυσέαις εἰκόσιν] This is a remarkable use of the dative.

241. The writer seems to have scan-

Ἄργείων δὲ ταῖσδ' ἰσήμετροι ἀντ.  
 νᾶες ἔστασαν πέλας·  
 ὧν ὁ Μηκιστέως στρατηλάτας  
 παῖς ἦν, Ταλαὸς δὲν τρέφει πατήρ· 245  
 Καπανέως τε παῖς  
 Σθένελος· Ἀθίδας δ' ἄγων  
 ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ὁ Θησέως  
 παῖς ἐξῆς ἐναυλόχει θεᾶν  
 Παλλάδ' ἐν μωνύχοις ἔχων πτερω- 250  
 τοῖσιν ἄρμασιν θετόν  
 εὔσημόν τε φάσμα ναυβάταις.  
 Βοιωτῶν δ' ὄπλισμα ποντίας στρ.

247. Ἀθίδος PL, Ἀθίδας Dobree. 248. ναῦς corr. to νῆας P (apparently the corrector wanted to get the same number of syllables as in *v.* 237, where he read *Μυρμιδόνων*), ναῦς L. In P the *παῖς* was originally written in this line and then crossed out and put in at the beginning of the next. (This sort of correction is made in P at several places but I have not thought it worth while to record it always.) In L also *παῖς* is written in 248 and marked to be transposed to the next *v.* 249. ἐξῆς P, ἐξῆς L. 251. ἄρμασι P, ἄρμασιν L the *ν* looks here as if it might have been added by the first hand as a correction. *θετόν* seems corrupt. Farnhaber emends it to *θοάν*, Weil writes *θεάν* here and *θοάν* at the end of *v.* 249. 253. τῶν is

ned the penult of Ἀχιλλείου as a short syllable (cf. C. N. on *Κυκλωπείας* at *v.* 265 and 1501).  
 242. Ἀργείων] The writer of this catalogue mentions a force from Argos under Euryalus (the son of Mecisteus) and, at *v.* 265, a separate force from Mycenae. This, Hennig says, is enough by itself to prove that no contemporary of the great tragedians wrote this catalogue. Homer makes Mycenae the city of the Atreidae: Argos and some neighbouring cities he puts under Diomedes, with Sthenelus and Euryalus under him. Aeschylus never mentions Mycenae in his Oresteian trilogy: with him Argos is Agamemnon's city. Sophocles in the *Electra* mentions the two cities as distinct and puts them both under Agamemnon. Euripides also mentions both cities, but, as Hennig has shown by an examination of many passages from the two *Iphigenia's*, the *Electra* and the *Orestes* (cf. Hennig pp. 49—52), he does not distinguish

between them, but uses now the name of the one city, now that of the other, when he is speaking of the seat of Agamemnon's power.

245. τρέφει] historic present; so often *τίκτει* in genealogies.

248. ὁ Θησέως παῖς] At B 552 Menestheus (an enemy of Theseus) is mentioned as the leader of the Athenian contingent, there numbered at 50 ships.

249. ἐναυλόχει] generally this word means *to lie in ambush* and even (trans. *to lie in wait for*).

250. μωνύχοις] This epithet shows that ἄρμασιν stands for *chariot* and *horses*, just as ἵπποι in Homer often stands for *horses* and *chariot*. Weil quotes *Herc. Fur.* 881 ἄρμασι δ' ἐνδίδωσι κέντρον.

253. ὄπλισμα] is as strange a word for fleet in its way as *πλάτη* at *v.* 236, and the *ποντίας νῆας* is very childish: the suggestion made in the critical notes would amend both faults.



- πεντήκοντα νῆας εἰδόμαν  
 σημείοισιν ἐστολισμένας· 255  
 τοῖς δὲ Κάδμος ἦν  
 χρύσειον δράκοντ' ἔχων  
 ἀμφὶ ναῶν κόρυμβα·  
 Λήϊτος δ' ὁ γηγενὴς  
 ἄρχε ναίου στρατοῦ· 260  
 Φωκίδος δ' ἀπὸ χθονός,  
 Λοκροῖς δὲ τοῖσδ' ἴσας ἄγων  
 ναῦς Οἰλέως τόκος κλυτὰν  
 Θροινιάδ' ἐκλιπὼν πόλιν.  
  
 Μυκῆνας δὲ τὰς Κυκλωπίας 265  
 παῖς Ἀτρέως ἔπεμπε ναυβάτας  
 ναῶν ἑκατὸν ἡθροῖσμένους.  
 σὺν δ' Ἀδραστος ἦν  
 ταγός, ὡς φίλος φίλῳ,  
 τὰς φυγούσας μέλαθρα 270  
 βαρβάρων χάριν γάμων  
 πράξιν Ἑλλάς ὡς λάβοι.  
 ἐκ Πύλου δὲ Νέστορος  
 Γερηνίου κατειδόμαν  
 πρύμνας σῆμα ταυρόπουν ὄραν, 275  
 τον πάροικον Ἀλφεόν.  
  
 Αἰνιάνων δὲ δωδεκάστολοι 280  
 νᾶες ἦσαν, ὧν ἄναξ Γουνεὺς

inserted before Βοιωτῶν in both P and L by a corrector. Ought we not to read πόντιον for ποντίας? 255. σημειοισιν (the *ω* wholly or partially obliterated) εὑστολισμένας PL, ἐστολισμένας Scaliger. 260. ἄρχε PL (corr. in P to ἄρχε). 261. After this *v.* a space for two lines is left in both mss. 262. Λοκροῖς PL, Λοκρός Scaliger and Canter, Λοκρῶν Heath, Λοκράς Markl. τοῖσδ' PL, Vitelli suggests ταῖσδ'. 263. Matthiae reads ναῦς ἦλθ' *metr. grat.* 265. Κυκλωπείας PL (corr. in P to Κυκλωπίας). 276. The word ὄραν (originally put at the end of *v.* 275 and crossed out) is written over the first word in this line: the word was probably τόν, as in L. The author of this correction (which is adopted by Ald.—possibly made by Musurus himself?—) evidently thought the *ι* in Θροινιάδ' (*v.* 264) was long. 277. f. δώδεκα στόλοι ναῶν PL, δωδεκάστολοι νᾶες Hermann (an excellent emendation). 278. Ἴουνεὺς P, Γοῦνεὺς L (Canter proposed the

268. This introduction of Adrastus is inexplicable. take vengeance on some one' is a most extraordinary phrase.

272. πράξιν λαβεῖν τινός] for 'to

ἄρχε· τῶνδε δ' αὖ πέλας  
 ἥλιδος δυνάστωρες, 280  
 οὓς Ἐπειοὺς ὠνόμαζε πᾶς λεώς·  
 Εὐρυτος δ' ἄνασσε τῶνδε·  
 λευκήρετμον δ' Ἄρη  
 Τάφιον ἦγεν, ὦν Μέγης ἄνασσε  
 Φυλέως λόχευμα, 285  
 τὰς Ἐχίνας λιπὼν \* \* \* \*  
 νήσους ναυβάταις ἀπροσφόρους.

Αἴας δ' ὁ Σαλαμῖνος ἔντροφος ἀντ.  
 δεξιὸν κέρας πρὸς τὸ λαιὸν ξυνάγε, 290  
 τῶν ἄσσον ὥρμει πλάταισιν  
 ἐσχάταισι συμπλέκων  
 δώδεκ' εὐστροφωτάταισι ναυσίν· ὥς  
 ἄιον καὶ ναυβάταν  
 εἰδόμαν λεών· 295  
 ᾧ τις εἰ προσαρμόσει  
 βαρβάρους βάριδας,  
 νόστον οὐκ ἀποίσεται,  
 ἐνθάδ' οἶον εἰδόμαν  
 νάιον πόρευμα, 300  
 τὰ δὲ κατ' οἴκους κλύουσα συγ-

latter as an emendation). 281. ὠνόμαζε P (o for ω is a common error with P), ὠνόμαζε L. 284. ἦγεν ὦν PL, ἡγεμών Herm. The word ἄνασσε which stands in the MSS. at the end of this v. cannot stand here: it probably was put in by a transcriber after the ἡγεμών was corrupted into ἦγεν ὦν. Firmhaber reads ἦγον, ὦν Μέγης ἄνασσε. 286. ἐχίδνας PL, in P a commentator has written at the side τὰς ἐχινάδας φησι. Ἐχινάδας Voss, Ἐχίνας Brodeau. 290. ξυνάγε PL, ξυνάγε Weil. 299. ἄιον PL, οἶον Herm. 301. συγκλήτου PL, Dind.

280. δυνάστωρ] is 'a vile word' formed on the analogy of ἀνάκτωρ.

285. Φυλέως λόχευμα] This use of λόχευμα with the genitive of the father is outrageous: the writer must have used something of the nature of a 'Gradus'.

287. ναυβάταις ἀπροσφόρους] Vitelli refers to ο 427 where we read of Τάφιοι λήιστορες ἄνδρες.

289—293. Weil's comment on these lines begins as follows: 'Pour trouver le sens de ces lignes, il ne faut pas prendre pour point de départ les mots,

qui sont obscurs, mais il faut d'abord se demander ce qui le poëte a dû dire'.

296. προσαρμόσει] apparently used here in the sense of *bring to close quarters with*; the sense of the whole passage is 'whoever brings outlandish hulks to attack such a fleet as this will not be allowed to escape'.

300. νάιον πόρευμα] another lame phrase for 'fleet'; the author has previously used πλάτη (236), ὄπλισμα πόντιον (253, if the reading is right), and νάιος στρατός (260).

κλήτον [μνήμην] σῶζομαι στρατεύματος.]

Ἐπεισόδιον δ.

ΠΡ. Μενέλαε, τολμᾶς δειν', ἃ σ' οὐ τολμᾶν χρεών.

ΜΕ. ἄπελθε· λίαν δεσπότηταισι πιστὸς εἶ.

ΠΡ. καλὸν γέ μοι τοῦνειδος ἐξωνείδισας.

305

suggests σύγκλητος but prefers σύλλογον. I am inclined to think that μνήμην in v. 302 is an explanatory addition, and that v. 301 originally ended with the first syllable of συγκλήτον, the gen. στρατεύματος depending on the τὰ δέ, σῶζομαι for 'I remember' is a poetical but μνήμην σῶζομαι τινος a most prosaic phrase. 303. δειν' PL. 304. A late hand in P inserted γε after λίαν: Aldus printed the γε: Barnes was the first to reject it. The corrector evidently did not know that

#### FIRST EPISODE vv. 303—542.

It is with a sigh of relief that every student must turn from the perplexities of the prologue and the doggerel navy list at the end of the parodus, to a scene of definite intelligible action, and of a genuine Euripidean stamp. Menelaus, impatient for Iphigeneia's arrival (vv. 328 and 330) has gone out at daybreak to look for her along the road. All he sees is the old henchman going from the camp in haste, the bearer of the letter which is to send Iphigeneia back. The suspicions of Menelaus are aroused. He challenges the messenger, robs him of his letter and reads its contents. At v. 303 Menelaus appears before Agamemnon's tent struggling with the old henchman, who is endeavouring to recover the stolen letter. At v. 314 the latter calls to his master for aid. Agamemnon appears, and a brisk 'stichomuthia' between the two Atreidae forms an introduction to a formal pleading between the two, such as an Athenian play-goer loved to listen to.

On the question of the spurious passage that follows, see Notes on vv. 413—441. After this pleading both sides give way. Agamemnon bewails his fate, and the sight of his brother's dismay and grief, or else his natural cunning, then moves Menelaus to waive his claim. He offers

to abandon the expedition. Agamemnon however will not accept his offer, and the first Episode closes on the understanding that the sacrifice must proceed.

It is perhaps a mark of the unfinished state in which the author left the play, that there are no anapaests at the end of the parodus such as those in which the chorus usually announce the arrival of a new character. Such formal lines approach very nearly in kind to our stage directions, and may well have been put in after the main scenes had been composed.

#### SCENE I.

##### *The Old Man and Menelaus.*

305. καλὸν γέ μοι τοῦνειδος] a proverbial oxymoron: 'your reproach does me credit'. Cf. the 'proverb' quoted (from Diogenianus iv. 85) by Suidas s.v. γαστήρ· γαστέρα μοι προφέρεις, κάλλιστον ὄνειδος ἀπάντων, Eur. *Phoen.* 821 γένναν ὀδοντοφυῆ, Θήβαις κάλλιστον ὄνειδος, *Bacch.* 852 ὠνειδίσας δὴ τοῦτο Διονύσω καλόν. It is a proof of the familiar nature of the phrase that Eustathius on A 211, and on P twice quotes Soph. *O. T.* 1035 as καλὸν γ' ὄνειδος instead of δεινόν γ' ὄνειδος. At *Medea* 514 καλόν γ' ὄνειδος τῷ νεωστὶ νυμφίῳ, we probably have this phrase used ironically, 'a credit-

- ME. κλαίοις ἄν, εἰ πράσσοις ἂ μὴ πράσσειν σε δεῖ.  
 ΠΡ. οὐ χρῆν σέ λῦσαι δέλτον, ἣν ἐγὼ ᾿φερον.  
 ME. οὐδέ γε φέρειν σέ πᾶσιν ᾿Ελλησιν κακά.  
 ΠΡ. ἄλλοις ἀμιλλῶ ταῦτ'· ἄφες δὲ τήνδ' ἐμοί.  
 ME. οὐκ ἂν μεθείμην. ΠΡ. οὐδ' ἔγωγ' ἀφήσομαι. 310  
 ME. σκήπτρῳ τάχ' ἄρα σὸν καθαιμάξω κάρα.  
 ΠΡ. ἀλλ' εὐκλεές τοι δεσποτῶν θνήσκειν ὕπερ.  
 ME. μέθες· μακροὺς δὲ δοῦλος ὦν λέγεις λόγους.  
 ΠΡ. ὦ δέσποτ', ἀδικούμεσθα. σὰς δ' ἐπιστολὰς

the ι of *λίαν* is sometimes long. 306. *κλαίεις* P, corrected by an early hand to *κλαίοις*. 307. I have printed *σέ* with Paley instead of the ordinary *σε*.—In P the mark of the breathing over the absent augment of (ἐ)φερον is obliterated by a dot of ink. L has the breathing but no accent. 308. *οὐδέ γε φέρειν σε δεῖ* PL, corrected in both by an early hand to *οὐδέ σε φέρειν δεῖ*: the correction of *γε* to *σε* is manifest in both: in L the *ειν* of *φέρειν* is in an erasure large enough to hold *ειν σε*. It is clear that the *δεῖ* has no business here but was originally an explanatory addition. 309. *ἄλλως* PL, *ἄλλοις* Markl. The *ἀμιλλᾶ* of Ald. may have been due to the fact that in P the *ω* resembles *α*: *ἄλλως ἀμιλλᾶ* gives a tolerable sense, but it is far more likely that *ἄλλοις* was miswritten *ἄλλως*, than that *ἀμιλλᾶ* was miswritten *ἀμιλλῶ*. 313. In P a late hand has written an explanatory γάρ over the

able sort of reproach that', though its very familiarity may have led to a mistake such as that made by Eustathius. Vitelli suggests that in the *Medea* we ought to read *κακὸν γ' ὄνειδος*. Anyhow this passage in the *Medea* is the only one which at all bears out the extraordinary statement made by the scholiast on Eur. *Phoen.* 821 *ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄνειδος τῶν μέσων λέξεων, ὡς καὶ τύχη, καὶ δόλος, καὶ ῥήλος*: a statement made also by Eust. on A 211 and Z 367, and in the *Et. Mag.* 626, 37—due probably to a misapprehension of the proverbial *καλὸν γ' ὄνειδος*. See Valckenauer and Geel or *Phoen. l.c.* and Vitelli on this passage. The above explanation seems better than to take the *καλὸν γε* ironically here: 'a pretty sort of reproach'. When at v. 311 Menelaus repeats ('more explicitly' as Weil says) the threat of v. 306, the Old Man again refers to the *honour* Menelaus will unintentionally be doing him.

307. *σέ*] emphatic because of the *σε*

*δεῖ* of the previous line: 'you talk of my duties, let me remind *you* of yours'.

308. For the rare *οὐδέ γε* cf. Soph. *El.* 1347 *Ο. οὐχὶ ξυνίης*; H. *οὐδέ γ' ἐς θυμὸν φέρω*, Xen. *Cyr.* I. v. 11 (bis). Usually some word or words intervene between the *οὐδέ* and the *γε*. *δέ γε* is not uncommon.

310. The *ἀφήσομαι* shows that by this time the old man had got hold of the letter. Probably an unsuccessful attempt to do so caused Menelaus to say what he does at v. 306, and he succeeded in getting it when he said the word *τήνδ'* in v. 309.

311. At *Andr.* 587 Peleus says to Menelaus: *σκήπτρῳ δὲ τῷδε σὸν καθαιμάξω κάρα*.

313. *μέθες*] very likely at this word, as Paley says, M. snatches the letter from his hand.

*δοῦλος ὦν*] 'for a slave': cf. Soph. *O. C.* 20 *μακρὰν γὰρ ὡς γέροντι προῦστάλης ὁδόν*, and *O. T.* 1078 and 1118.



ἐξαρπάσας ὅδ' ἐκ χερῶν ἐμῶν βία,  
'Αγάμεμνον, οὐδὲν τῇ δίκη χρήσθαι θέλει.

315

ΑΓΑ. ἔα·

τίς ποτ' ἐν πύλαισι θόρυβος καὶ λόγων ἀκοσμία;

ΜΕ. οὐμὸς οὐχ ὁ τοῦδε μῦθος κυριώτερος λέγειν.

ΑΓΑ. σὺ δὲ τί τῷδ' ἐς ἔριν ἀφίξαι, Μενέλεως, βία τ' ἄγεις;

δέ. 317. At Bekker, *Anecdota* I, 369 this *v.* is quoted in the form *τίς ποτ' ἐν θύραισι κ.τ.λ.* P has *τίς δῆτ' ἐν πύλαισι*, L *τίς δῆτ' ἐν πύλαις κ.τ.λ.* with an erasure before *τις*, after *πύλαις* and after *θόρυβος*. Evidently the erased additions and the *δῆτ'* for *ποτ'* are to be explained by the fact that in I. the line was originally written as two (iambic!) verses. The hand that erased the additions wrote *ἀρχή* over *τίς* and *τέλος* over *ἀκοσμία*: i.e. he had found out that it was only one trochaic line, though apparently he thought the second syllable of *θόρυβος* was long. *πύλαισι*, the grander word of the two, is probably right, and not *θύραισι*. Hermann (*Orusc.*) thought a verse spoken by the old man was missing after *v.* 317, and so Kirchhoff. Anyhow H. was right in ascribing *v.* 318 not, as P and L do, to ΠΡ. but to Menelaus. See Expl. Notes. Nauck suggests *καιριώτερος κλύειν* for *κυριώτερος λέγειν*: this amounts to re-writing Euripides: moreover *κυριώτερος* better suits Menelaus' imperious

316. This seems rather a weak line. It would be easy to believe that the preceding line ended originally with *ἔχει*, and that the author, or some later hand, in finally adapting it for the stage altered the *ἔχει* to *βία* and added *v.* 316 solely in order to bring in 'Agamemnon', the name of the character who now appears. Anyhow such is the purpose of the line. The 'playbill' element in tragedy must not be judged by rigid canons of style.

#### SCENE II.

*Agamemnon, Menelaus. The Old Man probably retires at v.* 319.

By the side of *v.* 317 L has the following scholion: *τροχαικοί διὰ τὸ μετὰ δρόμου ἐξελθεῖν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα*. The livelier metre not only suits a rapid appearance on the stage, but also the hasty tempers of the interlocutors in the following scene.

318. The old man has called his master out from his tent; it is natural that the first words of Agamemnon should

be addressed more particularly to the man who has summoned him. These words of Menelaus are spoken to draw his attention from the old man to himself.

319. τῷδ'] It is best to take the dat. not, as at *Cyclops* 328 (*Διὸς βρονταῖσις εἰς ἔριν κτυπῶν*) directly with *εἰς ἔριν*, but with the whole phrase *εἰς ἔ. ἀφ.*

βία τ' ἄγεις] This *ἄγεις* is difficult. At *Tro.* 998 *e.g.* Hecuba says to Helen *βία γὰρ παῖδα φῆς σ' ἄγειν ἐμόν*: there *ἄγειν βία* has its natural sense of *carry off by force*: so too at *Heracl.* 254: at *Medea* 1216 *εἰ δὲ πρὸς βίαν ἄγοι* means: *but if he dragged at it violently*; but in the present case there seems to be nothing resembling a *carrying off* or a *dragging*, unless it be at the letter. But the old man apparently had ceased at *v.* 315 f. to hold the letter. Unless *ἄγεις* is corrupt, perhaps the best explanation is that Agamemnon here accuses his brother with having (waylaid and) *carried off* his messenger by force (historic present).

- ME. βλέψον εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἵν' ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων ταύτας λάβω. 320  
 ΑΓΑ. μὼν τρέσας οὐκ ἀνακαλύψω βλέφαρον, Ἀτρέως γεγώς;  
 ME. τήνδ' ὀρᾶς δέλτον, κακίστων γραμμάτων ὑπηρέτιν;  
 ΑΓΑ. εἴσορῶ, καὶ πρῶτα ταύτην σὼν ἀπάλλαξον χερῶν.  
 ME. οὐ, πρὶν ἂν δείξω γε Δαναοῖς πᾶσι τὰγγεγραμμένα.  
 ΑΓΑ. ἦ γὰρ οἶσθ' ἂ μή σε καιρὸς εἰδέναι, σήμεντρ' ἀνείς; 325  
 ME. ὥστε σ' ἀλγύναι γ', ἀνοίξας, ἂ σὺ κάκ' εἰργάσω λάθρα.  
 ΑΓΑ. ποῦ δὲ κάλαβές νιν; ὦ θεοί, σῆς ἀναισχύντου φρενός.

tone. 322. τήνδ' in an erasure in P. γραμμάτων PL, πραγμάτων or ἐργμάτων Markl., ραμμάτων Gomperz. See Ex. Notes. 324. ἅπασι τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα with the first εἰ of ἐγγ. crossed through P, πᾶσι τὰγγεγραμμένα, the τὰ being in an erasure and the σι written above it L. Vitelli 'dubitanter' πάντα for πᾶσι: this is no improvement to the sense but provides a possible explanation for the erasure in L. Ald. and subsequent early editors adopted P.'s ἅπασι and omitted the

320. ἵν' ἀρχὰς κ.τ.λ.] This parenthetical use of *ina* with an ellipsis of a previous *I say it* is not uncommon in Greek. A well known instance is to be found in St Matthew ix. 6: another at Soph. Phil. 989 (Zeὺς ἔσθ', ἵν' εἰδῆς, Zeὺς ὁ τῆσδε γῆς κρατῶν), probably also, though all commentators do not so take it, at Soph. Ant. 310. The Latin *ut* is used in somewhat the same way: e.g. Ovid Met. XIII. 177 *Utique alios taceam, qui saevum perdere posset Hectora nempe dedi*: only the Latin *ut* is here *consecutive*, the Gk. *ina* is *final*.

321. 'Do you expect the son of Atreus to shut his eyes from fear?'—Vater (*Prolegg. ad Rhesium*) notices the fact that the name Ἀτρεὺς is said by Plato (*Crat.* 395 B) to be significant from its likeness to ἀπρεστος (among other words). No doubt the poet here was thinking of a possible etymological connexion between τρέσας and Ἀτρέως: in pronunciation σ between the ε and α of the former word would perhaps be somewhat slurred over.—βλέφαρον for ὄμμα is common in tragedy; but perhaps here, as in the passage of Aristotle (quoted—wrongly—in L. and S<sup>7</sup>.) p. 444 252 βλέφαρον is literally eyelid and ἀνακαλ. means *lift* (a covering).

322. γραμμάτων ὑπηρέτιν] fanciful, but quite Euripidean: the servant bears the tablet, and the tablet in its turn performs the same office, and bears the writing.

326. With ἀνοίξας it is best to understand σήμεντρα, or δέλτον, and not to take it, as L. and S. and others do, directly with ἂ σὺ κ.τ.λ. in the sense of *disclose, make public*. Menelaus had not yet made his discovery public. Ag. has asked 'Have you undone the seal and do you know what you have no business to know?' Men. answers 'Yes, to your cost, I have opened it, and I know the evil you wrought in secret'. Firmhaber takes ἂ σὺ κ.τ.λ. as the subj. to ἀλγύναι, but this leaves ἀνοίξας in a very awkward position: it is best therefore to suppose the relative clause as governed by the οἶδα which is implied in the γε.

327. ποῦ δὲ κάλαβές νιν] Porson on *Phoen.* 1373 has collected many instances of καὶ thus placed after an interrogative word: among them several in which, as here and at v. 1192, a δέ comes between the interrogative and the καὶ. This καὶ is generally placed immediately before the verb, or only separated from it by an unemphatic word, and is best rendered by putting an emphasis on the

- ME. προσδοκῶν σὴν παῖδ' ἀπ' Ἀργους εἰ στράτευμ' ἀφίξεται.  
 ΑΓΑ. τί δέ σε τὰμὰ δεῖ φυλάσσειν; οὐκ ἀναισχύντου τόδε;  
 ME. ὅτι τὸ βούλεσθαι μ' ἔκνιζε· σὸς δὲ δούλος οὐκ ἔφυν. 330  
 ΑΓΑ. οὐχὶ δεινὰ; τὸν ἐμὸν οἰκεῖν οἶκον οὐκ ἔασομαι;  
 ME. πλάγια γὰρ φρονεῖς, τὰ μὲν νῦν, τὰ δὲ πάλαι, τὰ δ' αὐτίκα.  
 ΑΓΑ. εὖ κεκόμψευσαι πονηρά· γλῶσσ' ἐπίφθονον σοφὴ.

γε. 331. Hermann's οὐχὶ δειν', εἰ for the MSS. οὐχὶ δεινὰ; is certainly not refuted by Monk's statement that the following οὐκ would in that case have been μὴ. —ἔασομαι PL, ἔασομεν Firnhaber, ἔας ἔμε Nauck. 333. ἐκκεκόμψευσαι· πονηρὸν PL. εὖ κεκόμψευσαι· Ruhnken *ad Tim. Lex.* 155. ἐκκεκόμψευσαι πονηρὸν, Matthiae. εὖ κεκόμψευσαι πονηρά, Monk. πονηρῶν Bothe and Nauck (so Weil and Vitelli). ἐπίφθονον PL, ἐπὶ φθόνον Musgrave (so Bremi, Hartung, Hermann, Dindorf and Vitelli). Bremi, followed by Matthiae, Bothe, Firnhaber and Vitelli prefer to keep ἐκκεκόμψευσαι, reading πονηρῶν (Firn. πονηρὸν, adverbially with ἐκκ.). I have, with Paley and Jebb (on Soph. *Ant.* 324) adopted Monk's reading of the line. Musgrave's ἐπὶ φθόνον seems at first sight a simple solution of the difficulty, but ἐπὶ with the acc.

auxiliary which accompanies the English verb. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1290 δύστηνε, ποῖ βλέπων ποτ' αὐτὰ καὶ θροεῖς; 'with what face *can* you utter it?' (Jebb, in lecture).—I am inclined with Firnhaber to take νῦν to refer not to the letter, but to the messenger. In that case the question takes up that put at *v.* 319 (see notes there): not 'where', or 'how' (cf. *v.* 406) 'did you get it?'—both these questions would be unnecessary after the old man's words at *v.* 315—but 'where *did* you get hold of him?' The exclamation at the end of the *v.* is prompted by indignation not at the opening of the letter but at the interference with the messenger. This is borne out by *v.* 329.

328. προσδοκᾶν τοῦτον εἰ ἀφίξεται] is a favourite Greek variety for προσδοκᾶν εἰ οὗτος ἀφίξεται. Cf Thuc. IV. 42, 3 ἐπετήρουν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ κατασχέσουσιν. Most probably at *Med.* 669 παίδων ἐρευνῶν σπέρμ' ὅπως γένοιτό μοι, σπέρμα is acc. Cf. also Thuc. VII. 63, 3 ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐνθυμείσθαι ὡς ἀξία ἐστὶ διασώσασθαι.

329. Cicero *Tusc.* IV. 77 quotes from Ennius a fragment of a conversation between Agamemnon and Menelaus in

the course of which, he says, 'alternis versibus intorquentur inter fratres gravissimae contumeliae'. The fragment is A. *Quis homo te exsuperavit usquam gentium impudentia?* M. *Quis autem malitia te?* It looks as if Ennius had here followed Euripides pretty closely.

330. Ag.'s twice repeated charge of impudence would seem to have stung Menelaus to show how impudent he really could be.

331. For τὸν ἐμὸν οἰκεῖν οἶκον cf. *Androm.* 581 πῶς; ἢ σὺ τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον οἰκήσεις μολῶν δεῦρ'; (adopting Lenting's correction of the *v.*). Even if this had been the only instance of ἔασομαι as a passive (cf. Thuc. I. 142 οὐδὲ μελετῆσαι ἑασόμενοι) that would not have been a sufficient reason for altering it (see Crit. N.)

332. πλάγια] In the other two passages cited for this word in the lexx. from poets it is used, like the English *crooked*, metaphorically, in the sense of *perverse* or *deceitful*: here the following words fix its meaning as *changeable*:—'you go zigzagging about'.

333. i.e. 'You can talk finely about your conduct (in intercepting and opening my letter) but it has been disgrace-



ΜΕ. νοὺς δέ γ' οὐ βέβαιον ἄδικος κτῆμα κοῦ σαφὲς φίλοις.  
 βούλομαι δέ σ' ἐξελέγξαι, καὶ σὺ μήτ' ὀργῆς ὑπο 335  
 ἀποτρέπου τάληθές, οὐτ' αὖ κατατενω λῖαν ἐγώ.

('for'), is thus made to bear the sense of *eis* ('at'), and even *eis phthonon* 'clever at malice', is not the sense we want. The substance of Menelaus' answers has been a defence of his own base conduct: his accusations of Ag. are only made incidentally for that purpose. It is in favour of Monk's *πονηρά* that the verb (whether *ἐκκεκ.* or *κεκ.*) decidedly wants an object. In P *ὦρ.* (*ῥαίων*), and in L *γνω.* (*γνώμη*) are written in the margin by this line. 334. *νοὺς δ' οὐ* P, corr. by a late hand to

*νοὺς δέ γ' οὐ*, *νοὺς δ' οὐ* L, with *ἐγ'* written over *δ' οὐ* by an early hand. *νοὺς δ' ὁ μὴ* Hense (on the ground that *οὐ* is often found as a gloss upon *μή* in MSS.). I think the change to *μή* would be for the worse. *κοῦ σαφὲς φίλοις* PL, *σαφὲς* Monk, *κοῦ σοφοῖς φίλον* Nauck. See Ex. N.—*κοῦ* was in L originally written *καὶ οὐ*. In view of the difficulty of the *ἄδικον* I would suggest that Euripides wrote *νοὺς δέ γ' οὐ βέβαιον ἄδικος κτῆμα*, following somewhat the order of the last words of Ag.

335. *δέ σ' ἐλέγξαι* PL, corrected by a late hand in P and by an early hand in L to *δέ σ' ἐξελέγξαι*. Over the *τ'* of *μήτ'* in P *τοι* is written by a late hand, due probably to the *οὔτοι* in the following *v.* In L the *ς ὑπο* is written (by an early hand) in an erasure. 336. *ἀποστρέφου* corrected (probably by an early hand in both, though the ink in P is rather dark), to *ἀποτρέφου* PL. In these three lines it

looks as if P had been corrected by being compared with L. *οὔτοι κατατενω λῖαν σ' ἐγώ* PL, *οὔτοι κατατενω λῖαν ἐγώ* Boeckh. *οὔτε κατατενω* Herm., who also omits the *σ'*. As the corrector of P who wrote *τοι* over the *μήτ'* in the previous *v.* saw, the two negatives correspond; therefore, as *μήτ'* cannot stand for *μήτοι*, we are almost compelled to write *οὔτε* in *v.* 336. It is hard though to see how the *οἱ* of *οὔτοι* arose. *οὔτ' αὖ σ' ἐκτενω* Blomfield, *οὔτ' αὖ κατατενω* Hartung, whom I follow. The *σ'* after *λῖαν* was, probably, not merely due, as Vitelli supposed, to the ignorance on the part

ful. I hate a clever speaker': to which Men. naturally answers; that there are other bad things besides a clever tongue.

334. The irresoluteness of Agamemnon already spoken of by Men. at *v.* 332, is the point on which he mainly enlarges in the following speech.

*ἄδικον* is an extraordinary word here: we should have expected something more like *αἰσχροὺν* in meaning: *σαφὲς* too is difficult. *ἄδικον κτῆμα κοῦ σαφὲς φίλοις* would seem to mean 'a wrong thing for a man (himself) to have, and one which prevents his friends having any confidence in him'.—'not a thing that his friends can trust in'. *σαφὲς* in the sense of 'trustworthy' occurs at *Or.* 1155, *I. T.* 919, *Herc. fur.* 55 (*σαφεῖς φίλοι*), *Hipp.* 890 (*σαφεῖς ἄράς*), *Helen.* 310 (*ἐπη...*

*ἀληθεῖα σαφῆ*), *Ion* 1482 (*δόλια κοῦ σαφῆ τάδε*). The emendation I have proposed in the C. N. and adopted in the text gives the following sense: 'yes but a wicked heart is a shifty piece of goods: no friend can trust it'. Cf. *v.* 347.

335 *fin.* and 336. 'Don't *you* angrily deny true charges, and I won't make them any more bitter than I can help'. I do not know whether it is better to take *κατατενω* absolutely, or to supply *τάληθές* as its object: in favour of the former is the somewhat similar absolute use of *ἀντιτείνω* in Eur. *fr.* 656—the general sense of which throws light on this passage—*δνοῖν λεγόντων, θατέρου θυμουμένου, ὁ μὴ ἀντιτείνων τοῖς λόγοις σοφώτερος. ἀντικατείνω* is also so used at Plat. *Rep.* 348 A.



οἷσθ' ὅτ' ἐσπούδαζες ἄρχειν Δαναΐδαις πρὸς Ἴλιον,  
 τῷ δοκεῖν μὲν οὐχὶ χρήζων, τῷ δὲ βούλεσθαι θέλων,  
 ὡς ταπεινὸς ἦσθα, πάσης δεξιᾶς προσθυγάνων  
 καὶ θύρας ἔχων ἀκλήστους τῷ θέλοντι δημοτῶν, 340  
 καὶ διδοὺς πρόσρησιν ἐξῆς πᾶσι, κεῖ μὴ τις θέλοι,  
 τοῖς τρόποις ζητῶν πρίασθαι τὸ φιλότιμον ἐκ μέσου.

of some Byzantine of the length of the penult in *λιαν*, but after the corrupt *καταινω* had crept in, an object to it was necessary. The σ' is omitted in the Paris copies of L. 339. *ἦς ἀπάσης* P, *ἦς ἀπάσης* with an erasure between the two words and a comma under the erasure L, *ἦσθα πάσης* Markland (cf. Rutherford, *Neve*

337—349. The first instance of the uncertainty and changeableness of Agamemnon's mind was the difference between his behaviour as a candidate for office and his behaviour after being elected.

350—364. The second instance was the way in which he at first was ready and willing to do anything, even sacrifice his daughter, to further the expedition, and now was drawing back. Observe the similarity of phrase in *vv.* 343 and 363.

337. *ἄρχειν Δαναΐδαις πρὸς Ἴλιον*] In prose it would have been *ἀ. Δαναΐδαις τῆς πρὸς Ἴλιον στρατείας*. The dative with *ἄρχω* seems to have been used specially of a temporary office: cf. Thuc. I. 93, 3 *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναῖοις ἦρξε*, cf. also Thuc. II. 2, 1; VI. 54, 6, and VII. 70, 1; also Hdt. VIII. 51 *Καλλιᾶδew ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι*.

Matthiae thinks it was perhaps to the present passage that the words of Eustathius refer, on *II.* p. 57, 30. See above on *v.* 85.

338. A reference to *v.* 330, where Menelaus says *ὅτι τὸ βούλεσθαι μ' ἐκνίξε*, will help to make τῷ δὲ βούλεσθαι θέλων seem a little less curious. Weil translates the *v.* 'En apparence, tu n'y aspirais point; mais, à sonder ta volonté, tu le désirais', and quotes Tac. *An.* I. 3 *specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat*. Hennig condemns the line firstly because it ends in the same syllable as the two following, secondly because it adds no-

thing to the sketch of Ag.'s behaviour. As to the latter objection: it is surely quite in keeping with the falseness and untrustworthiness which he is describing, and with the general nature of candidates' civilities, that they should conceal from the recipients of these civilities the desire which prompted them. The line seems to me Euripidean.

341. For *ἐξῆς πᾶσι* ('every single one') cf. Eur. *Fr.* 658 *ὅστις δὲ πάσας συντιθεῖς ψέγει λόγῳ γυναικάς ἐξῆς, σκαῖός ἐστι κού σοφός*, and Philemon *Fr. Inc.* III. (Meineke) *δειλοὶ πάλιν ἐξῆς πάντες εἰσὶν οἱ λόγῳ*, and *p.* 450. The phrase seems to have been a homely one. The word *ἐξῆς* is not used by Aeschylus or Sophocles.—*κεῖ μὴ τις θέλοι* does not mean that Ag. accented men *against their will*, but *even though they did not seek it, were not looking for it*. Cf. Xen. *Hiero* VIII. 3 *ιδῶν γὰρ πρῶτον προσειπάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς ὃ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ιδιώτης. ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ποτέρου πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τὸν ἀκούσαντα νομίζεις*;

342. *τὸ φιλότιμον*] Monk translates this '*popularity*': I think it rather means *advancement*. The noun *φιλοτιμία* and the adj. *φιλότιμος* by no means always meant *ambition* and *ambitious*. In later Greek especially they were used for *pride of place* (or even *high place*), and *distinguished*, respectively.—Hennig thinks this line is concocted by the interpolator who did not add '*de suo*', but '*qui multa ex ipsa fabula extracta inculcavit*'. The

καὶτ' ἐπεὶ κατέσχευς ἀρχάς, μεταβαλὼν ἄλλους τρόπους  
 τοῖς φίλοισιν οὐκέτ' ἦσθα τοῖς πρὶν ὥς πρόσθεν φίλος, 344  
 δυσπρόσιτος ἔσω τε κλήθρων σπάνιος. ἄνδρα δ' οὐ χρεὼν  
 τὸν ἀγαθὸν πρᾶσσοντα μεγάλα τοὺς τρόπους μεθιστάναι,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ βέβαιον εἶναι τότε μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις  
 ἡνίκ' ὠφελεῖν μάλιστα δυνατός ἐστιν εὐτυχῶν.  
 ταῦτα μὲν σε πρῶτ' ἐπῆλθον, ἵνα σε πρῶθ' ἡῖρον κακόν.  
 ὥς δ' ἐς Αὐλιν ἦλθες αὖθις χῶ Πανελλήνων στρατός, 350

*Phrynichus* p. 225). 345. In the margin is written ὦ (*i.e.* ὠραῖον) in P, ση (*i.e.* σημειῶσαι) in L. These marginal marks (also γν for γνώμη) against choice passages often occur in this tragedy. 349. σε corrected by a late hand to σοι P, cf. *Bacch.* 736, σε L. εἶρω PL, in P the ω, if it is an ω, is written small, above the line, and is partially obscured by a dot of ink in its second half. In L there seems to have been some correction in the κακόν, but the εἶρω is clear (Vit.). I think Reiske's and Markland's εἶρον (better ἡῖρον) right: εἶρω having been the misreading of a copier who had only the final use of ἵνα in his mind at the time. 350. ἦλθεν PL, ἦλθες Ald., αὖτις PL (corr. to αὖθις in P), καὶ ὁ PL—with χῶ written over it in both MSS. I have accepted the above corrections, but I think the true reading has not yet been recovered, and that some old corruption lurks in the letters ΝΑΥΤΙΚΑΙΟ. ? ναύτης ὅδε—ναύτης being used adjectively as at *Hec.* 921 (ναύταν οὐκέθ' ὀρώων ὀμιλον), and καὶ ὁ having been a gloss written by some one who mistook ὅδε for ὁ δέ.

τρόποις in this *v.* helps the τρόποις in the next: this makes for the genuineness of the *v.*—πρίασθαι ἐκ μέσου something like our *buy in the open market*; another homely phrase.

345. *δυσπρόσιτος* κ.τ.λ.] Cf. *Plut. Nic.* v. p. 536 εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐν κοινῷ πράττειν ἔχει δυσπρόσοδος ἦν καὶ δυσέντευκτος, οἰκουρῶν καὶ κατακεκλειμένος. Porson well compares *Thuc.* i. 130 (about Pausanias).

ἔσω κλήθρων] furnishes the contrast to θύρας ἔχων ἀκλήστους (*now* he lived behind a barred door): σπάνιος τοῖς διδ. πρόσρησιν ἐξῆς πᾶσι κεί μή τις θέλοι: *now* he was hard to find if any one wanted him.

*δυσπρόσιτος* κ.τ.λ.] hardly an asyndeton: *i.e.* not for ἀλλ' ἦσθα *δυσπ.* κ.τ.λ.; but the adjs. are in explanatory subordination to οὐκέτ' ἦσθα φίλος.

346. ἀγαθόν] is here used much in the sense of *kind, friendly*, as at *v.* 45

πρὸς δ' ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πιστόν τε φράσεις.

347. The dat. φίλοις with βέβαιον as with σαφές at *v.* 334.

348. εὐτυχῶν] in causal subordination to δυνατός ἐστιν: *because* he is prosperous:—'just when his prosperity puts it most within his power to aid them'.—In the margin of my copy of Canter's Euripides an old hand has written against this passage (345 ff.), 'ὁβ honores non mutandos mores'.

349. Markland cf. *Andr.* 688 ταῦτ' εὖ φρονῶν σ' ἐπῆλθον, οὐκ ὀργῆς χάριν: the two passages well support each other in a rare use of the verb and in its construction with an acc. of the person: in the *Andr.* however the ταῦτα means *this reproof*; here the ταῦτα is most probably antecedent to ἵνα and means *about this*. So in English we might say 'that is the first fault I find with you', in either of the two senses 'ἵνα in qua re as at *v.* 469' (Monk).

οὐδὲν ἦσθ', ἀλλ' ἐξεπλήσσου τῇ τύχῃ τῇ τῶν θεῶν,  
οὐρίας πομπῆς σπανίζων, Δαναΐδαι δ' ἀφίεναι  
ναῦς διήγγελλον, μάτην δὲ μὴ πονεῖν ἐν Αὐλίδι.  
ὥς δ' ἀνολβον εἶχες ὄμμα σύγχυσίν τ' εἰ μὴ νεῶν  
χιλίων ἄρχων τὸ Πριάμου πεδίον ἐμπλήσεις δορός. 355  
καμὲ παρεκάλεις· τί δράσω; τίν' ἀπόρων εὖρω πόρον;  
ὥστε μὴ στερέντα σ' ἀρχῆς ἀπολέσαι καλὸν κλέος.

Kirchhoff conj. αὐτίχ' ὅδε. ἦλθες αὐτὸς Monk. 351. οὐδὲν ἦσθ' PL, οὐδὲν ἦν Weil, οὐδ' ἐνεῖσθ' Vitelli. 354. ὥς ἀνολβον PL, but in L a δ' is added above the end of the ὥς by an early hand and possibly in P by a late one, though it is not clear. The harsh asyndeton of ὥς ἀνολβον has been avoided by Ald., Canter, Matthiae and most later editors and critics (Monk, Herm., Hart., Bothe, Firnh., Paley, Hennig) by admitting the δ' after ὥς, by Weil and Vitelli by alterations of οὐδὲν ἦσθ' (see above on v. 351) which make ὥς ἀνολβον κ.τ.λ. the principal sentence to which vv. 350—353 form a series of subordinate clauses. Dindorf and Nauck, (and Herm. *Opusc.*) get rid of this and other difficulties by rejecting vv. 354 and 355. (Nauck rejects v. 351 as well.) As Hennig says, the Δ might easily have fallen out before the A.—δνομα P, ὄμμα L (at *I. T.* 905 there seems to have been the same mistake made in both MSS. which P makes here). Though strongly inclined to reject 354 f. with Dind. and Nauck, I think it is safer to read ὥς δ'. Hartung transposes 351 and puts it after 353: this Herm. (*Opusc.*) approves. 355. τὸ Πριάμου τε PL, with the τὸ crossed out in both. Elmsley rejected the τε and so all later editors. ἐμπλήσας PL, τ' εἰ for τε (PL) (in 354), and ἐμπλήσεις Musgrave, ἐμπλήσων Matt., ἐμπλήσαις Lenting (a bad form). I have adopted Musgrave's correction. The τε after Πριάμου was evidently put in by some one who thought Ag. feared (cf. v. 357) to lose the command of the fleet and this insertion may have gone along with the change of ἐμπλήσεις to ἐμπλήσας. 356. τίνα πόρον εὖρω ποθὲν PL, with a δὲ inserted after τίνα by an early hand in both: τίν' ἀπορῶν εὖρω πόρον Nauck. Weil has improved on this by reading ἀπόρων. Monk and Wecklein adopt at *I. T.* 897<sup>f</sup> Hermann's reading ἀπόρων πόρον (for the MSS. πόρον ἀπορον), where the gen. has exactly the same sense as here: (πόθεν L. Dind.). 357. στερέντα σ' PL, στερέντας Musgrave. Nearly all recent editors accept Musgrave's emendation. If we follow them we ought to take στερέντας, as Dobree says, to apply to both the

351. οὐδὲν ἦσθ'] with reference to the ὥς ταπεινὸς ἦσθα of the previous charge. 'This time you were brought lower still'. Monk compares *I. T.* 115. Cf. also *Trö.* 1007 εἰ δ' εὐτυχοῖεν Τρῶες, οὐδὲν ἦν ὅδε. Cf. vv. 968 and 945 of this play.—τῇ τύχῃ τῇ τῶν θεῶν is a variety for the common *θείᾳ τύχῃ* of prose. What the visitation of heaven was is explained in the following participial clause.

354. ὄμμα σύγχυσίν τ'] form a sort

of hendiadys, both being in sense qualified by ἀνολβον, 'a piteous confusion of face'. Cf. v. 1127.

355. χιλίων νεῶν ἄρχων] as Vitelli says, not so much as 'although you were master of a thousand ships', but simply 'at the head of your thousand ships'.

356. τίν' ἀπόρων εὖρω πόρον;] for the genitive with πόρος of the thing *from* which a way is sought cf. *Alc.* 213 τίς ἂν πῶς πᾶ πόρος κακῶν; and see Crit. Notes.

καὶτ' ἐπεὶ Κάλχας ἐν ἱεροῖς εἶπε σὴν θῦσαι κόρην  
 Ἀρτέμιδι, [καὶ πλοῦν ἔσεσθαι Δαναΐδαις, ἥσθεις φρένας  
 ἄσμενος] θύσειν ὑπέστης παῖδα· καὶ πέμπεις ἐκὼν, 360  
 οὐ βία, μὴ τοῦτο λέξης, σὴ δάμαρτι, παῖδα σὴν  
 δεῦρ' ἀποστέλλειν, Ἀχιλλεῖ πρόφασιν ὡς γαμουμένην.  
 [καὶθ' ὑποστρέψας λέλῃσαι μεταβαλὼν ἄλλας γραφάς,  
 ὡς φονεὺς οὐκέτι θυγατρὸς σῆς ἔσει μάλιστά γε.]  
 οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν αἰθὴρ ὃς τὰδ' ἤκουσεν σέθεν. 365  
 μυριοὶ δέ τοι πεπόνθασ' αὐτό· πρὸς τὰ πράγματα

brothers. If it had referred to Ag. alone it would almost certainly have been in the nom. I see no great difficulty however in supposing the quotation of Ag.'s words to stop at the end of v. 356. There is much to be said for Hermann's later view (*Orusc.*) that the verse is an interpolation. 359 f. The ἥσθεις φρένας and the ἄσμενος are not only themselves extraordinary and inconsistent with vv. 94 ff., but they greatly weaken the force of the following ἐκὼν, οὐ βία. I think that from καὶ πλοῦν...to ἄσμενος is an interpolation concocted partly from v. 92. Nauck condemns the whole of v. 359 and leaves ἄσμενος. 363. λελήσαι PL, λελήσαι a late corrector of P and the early editions. (καθ' P, without the ι subs. which has been so often added in this ms. by a late hand.) Nauck condemns this verse. 364. In P a corrector has indistinctly altered οὐκέτι (I think, into οὐκ εἰ), οὐκ αὖ Paley. ἔση PL. Nauck and Hartung follow Dindorf in condemning this verse: "Versus a grammatico aliquo ad explicanda verba praecedentia compositus, et satis misere quidem: nam particulae εἰ et μάλιστά γε nullum alium usum habent quam ut mensuram versus explent". At v. 1594 another instance will be found in which an interpolator has used μάλιστά as a stop-gap. Hennig retains 363 and 364 (reading μάλιστά γ' οὐ), and rejects 365. 365. αὐτός PL (which Monk would retain), αὐτός Markland. ? τότ' for τὰδ'. 366 f. I have adopted Wecklein's punctuation of 366, putting the · after αὐτό instead of after πράγματα, and in 367 I have also (not without doubt) adopted his ἐγκονοῦσ' for the ἐκπονοῦσ' of the MSS. ἔχοντες PL, ἐκόντες Canter and Scaliger. I think it possible that πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ἐκπονοῦσ' ἔχοντες is after all the right reading, and that ἔχοντες πρὸς τὰ πράγματα is for νοῦν ἔχοντες πρὸς τὰ πράγματα. προσέχειν with the dat. has exactly the sense of νοῦν προσέχειν with the dat., why should not ἔχειν πρὸς have the sense of νοῦν ἔχειν πρὸς? (Cf. ἔχειν ἐπὶ in the sense of ἐπέχειν at Soph. *Ant.* 986, χ 75.) The meaning then would be *attend devotedly, labour their utmost in attending to public business.*

358. ἐν ἱεροῖς] *inter sacrificandum*: cf. v. 674 ξὺν ἱεροῖς, and v. 1491 παρ' ἱεροῖς.

362. πρόφασιν] Cf. Hdt. v. 33 ἐπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπ' Ἑλληνπόντου.

365. If this v. is given correctly and in its right order, we must suppose the connexion of ideas with what precedes to be this: 'you *did* promise it' (refer-

ring to ὑπέστης in v. 360); 'this is the very same sky that heard you, I appeal to it as a witness'. Markland compares *Troad.* 1024 κάβλεψας πόσει τὸν αὐτὸν αἰθέρ'.

366. τὰ πράγματα] seems to mean 'the conduct of affairs, the government', as in the phrases ἔχειν τὰ πράγματα, οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν.



ἐγκονοῦσ' ἐκόντες, εἶτα δ' ἐξεχώρησαν κακῶς,  
 τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ γνώμης πολιτῶν ἀσυνέτου, τὰ δ' ἐνδίκως  
 ἀδύνατοι γεγῶτες αὐτοὶ διαφυλάσσθαι πόλιν.  
 Ἑλλάδος μάλιστα ἔγωγε τῆς τάλαιπώρου στένω, 370  
 ἢ θέλουσα δρᾶν τι κεδνόν, βαρβάρους τοὺς οὐδένας  
 καταγελῶντας ἐξανήσει διὰ σέ καὶ τὴν σὴν κόρην.  
 μηδέν' οὖν γένους ἔκατι προστάτην θείμην χθονός,  
 μηδ' ὅπλων ἄρχοντα· νοῦν χρὴ τὸν στρατηλάτην ἔχειν·

368 f. Hennig condemns these two *vv.* 372. τὴν σὴν κάκην Nauck, perhaps rightly. 373. μηδέν ἂν χείους, corr. by an early hand to μηδέν' ἂν χρέους P, μηδέν' ἂν χρέους (the ε in an erasure) L. μηδέν' ἂν θείμην is ungrammatical, and χρέους (or χρέους) is a *vox nihili*. It is useless to give the many corrections that have been made. I have adopted in the text Monk's μηδέν' οὖν γένους (Reiske also γένους) as, though it is by no means convincing, it seems to me to make the best sense with the whole context. Firnhaber, who holds all 'so-called' emendations of the MSS. reading in abhorrence, actually defends μηδέν' ἂν θείμην. 374. Hennig

367. ἐξεχώρησαν κακῶς] Cf. Dante *Inf.* 3, 60 'Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto'.

368 f. 'Some men relinquish power because of undeserved unpopularity, some because they are really in themselves incompetent'. It seems better, with Hermann, to take ἐνδίκως closely with ἀδύνατοι γεγῶτες in the sense of 'really', 'truly'. (Cf. our use of 'fairly', 'properly' in the sense of 'thoroughly'.) If it be taken in the sense of 'rightly'—*i.e.* in the sense that it was quite right they should lose their power,—the men could hardly be said ἐκχωρήσαι κακῶς. The change spoken of is one from eager devotion to base inactivity, in the case of a ruler, and the notion of his being rightly or wrongly deprived of office is foreign to the matter. I think the poet must here have had Alcibiades in mind, and the disappointment he caused at Athens by his conduct of the expedition with which he was entrusted after his return to the city in B.C. 407. See Grote VII. 393 ff. (chapter 64).

370. 'Hunc verum respicit Eubulus Comicus ap. Athenae. XIII. 3 p. 569 A Ἑλλάδος ἔγωγε τῆς τάλαιπώρου πέρι Στέ-

νω' Markl. Porson's comment on Markland is: 'In Eubuli versu miror Marklandum non vidisse expungendum, tum Euripidis auctoritate, tum metri jussu, importunum istud πέρι'. The gen. Ἑλλάδος with στένω comes under the head of the causal genitive which goes with verbs of emotion and with exclamations, but it is so far irregular that while the genitives referred to usually express the thing which causes the emotion Ἑλλάδος here is the person commiserated. Monk quotes *Hec.* 1256 and X 424 but the genitives παιδός (with ἀλγεῖν) and πάντων (with δδύρομαι), though genitives of persons, still represent the *source* of the grief, which is for their loss. The same is the case, though not quite so directly, with the gen. in Soph. *El.* 1209 ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγὼ σέθεν.

371. δρᾶν τι κεδνόν] Vitelli compares Soph. *Ai.* 468 δρῶν τι χρηστόν. Cf. also *Heracl.* 795 μῶν τι κεδνὸν ἡγωνίζετο; *Tro.* 683 πράξειν τι κεδνόν (πράξειν there is intransitive).

374. ὅπλων] poetic for ὀπλίτων, cf. *Phoen.* 113 πολλοῖς μὲν ἵπποις μυρίοις δ' ὀπλοῖς βρέμων, *Ion* 1292 οὔτοι σὺν ὀπλοῖς ἦλθον εἰς τὴν σὴν χθόνα: so αἰχμὴ in the

- [πόλεος ὡς ἄρχων ἀνὴρ πᾶς, ξύνεισιν ἣν ἔχων τύχη.] 375  
 ΧΟ. δεινὸν κασιγνήτοισι γίγνεσθαι λόγους  
 μάχας θ', ὅταν ποτ' ἐμπέσωσιν εἰς ἔριν.  
 ΑΓΑ. βούλομαί σ' εἰπεῖν κακῶς αὖ, βραχέα, μὴ λίαν ἄνω  
 βλέφαρα πρὸς τάναιδές ἀγαγών, ἀλλὰ σωφρονέστερον,  
 ὡς ἀδελφὸν ὄντ'. ἀνὴρ γὰρ χρηστὸς αἰδεῖσθαι φιλεῖ. 380  
 εἰπέ μοι, τί δεινὰ φύσας αἵματηρὸν ὄμμ' ἔχων;

condemns this verse.

375. πόλεως PL, πόλεος Grotius. I agree with Hartung in thinking that first some 'sententiarum generalium venator' wrote the (Stoic-like) iambic trimeter 'nescio unde petitum' ἄρχων...τύχη, at the side; next it got into the text 'scribarum errore', finally 'aliquis numerorum male peritus' (he evidently scanned by *accent* and neglected vowel length), made it into a tetrameter by prefixing πόλεως ὡς.—It will be seen that out of the last 13 lines of Menelaus' speech more than half have by one commentator or another been pronounced spurious. This is not healthy, but it is very hard to say where the fault lies. At any rate difficulties of this kind are not to be solved by following a scholar who spends 3½ pages in defending the syntax of μηδέν' ἂν θέμην. 376 and 377 are quoted by Stobaeus *Anth.* 82, 3. γίνεσθαι P, γίγνεσθαι L. 378. εὔ PL, αὖ Markland (Dobree defends εὔ, comparing εὔ διαβαλὼν at Thuc. 3, 42), οὗ Herm. (*Opusc.*), ἂν ᾧ PL, L adding γρ. ἂν ᾧ in the first hand, in P there may have been an erasure where the ν stands, ἄνω Stobaeus, who quotes 378, 379 and 380 at *Anth.* 31, 2. 379. σωφρονέστερος PL, σωφρονεστέρος Stobaeus: in P at all events the os, as in Ald., is indicated by an o over the ρ. It is more likely that this was a mistake for ον than for ωs.—Wattenbach (*Gr. Pal. Suppl.* p. 17), says this o sometimes stands for ον.—So with Matthiae and Monk I have written σωφρονέστερον. 380. αἰσχροὺς οὐκ PL, χρηστὸς χρηστὸν Stobaeus, χρηστὸς Grotius, in P ᾧ (*i.e.* ὠραῖον) and γν (*i.e.*

sing. collectively *Heracl.* 275 ἦξω δὲ πολλὴν Ἀρεὸς Ἀργείου λαβὼν πάγχαλκον αἰχμὴν δεῦρο. Probably the use of χεῖρ and the Latin *manus* for a *force* is of the same kind as this of αἰχμή, *i.e.* collective.

376 f. This anticipation of Dr Watts ('But 'tis a shameful sight, When children of one family Fall out and chide and fight') seems to have been popular in antiquity. Stobaeus quotes it in his *Anthology*.

378. Weil keeps the mss. εὔ and translates 'je veux te dire des injures, mais les dire convenablement': but κακῶς εἰπεῖν (or λέγειν) does not so much mean *maledicere*, 'abuse', in Tragedy, as *incriminare*, 'find fault with'; cp. Soph. *El.* 523 ἐγὼ δ' ὕβριν μὲν οὐκ ἔχα, κακῶς δέ σε λέγω κακῶς κλύουσα πρὸς σέθεν θαμά: in *maledicere*, 'dire des injures', 'abuse', there is

the notion of ὕβρις.

379. πρὸς τάναιδές] (for the form of phrase cf. ἐς κοινὸν v. 408) must be considered along with the σωφρονέστερον and the αἰδεῖσθαι in the next v.: it is probably not *effrontery*, or even *disdain*, but *recklessness*, *mercilessness*, which Ag. says his gestures shall not express. It is difficult to decide whether βλέφαρα here means *eyes* or *eyelids*. Cf. v. 321, and Prov. 30. 13 'There is a generation, oh how lofty are their eyes! And their eyelids are lifted up'.

381. δεινὰ φύσας] οἷον ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀποσχετλιάζειν Phrynichus in Bekk. *Anecd.* 1, 36, 1. Cf. μέγα φνσῶν v. 125.

αἵματηρὸν ὄμμα] Monk renders *vultum sanguine suffusum*, Paley 'that sanguinary

τίς ἀδικεῖ σε; τοῦ κέχρησαι; χρηστά λέκτρ' ἐρᾷ λαβεῖν;  
 οὐκ ἔχοιμ' ἄν σοι παρασχεῖν· ὦν γὰρ ἐκτίσω, κακῶς  
 ἦρχες. εἴτ' ἐγὼ δίκην δῶ σὼν κακῶν, ὁ μὴ σφαλεῖς;  
 ἢ δάκνει σε τὸ φιλότιμον τοῦμόν; ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις 385  
 εὐπρεπῇ γυναικα χρήζεις, τὸ λελογισμένον παρεῖς  
 καὶ τὸ καλόν, ἔχειν; πονηροῦ φωτὸς ἡδοναὶ κακαί.  
 εἰ δ' ἐγὼ γνούς πρόσθεν οὐκ εὖ μετεθέμην εὐβουλίαν,  
 μαίνομαι; σὺ μᾶλλον, ὅστις ἀπολέσας κακὸν λέχος

γνώμη) are written at the side. 382. λέκτρ' ἐρᾷ χρηστά PL, λέκτρα χρηστ' ἐρᾷ Heath, χρηστά λέκτρ' ἐρᾷ Reiske and Wecklein. I prefer the latter, as it involves a smaller change in the mss. reading, and seems to me to emphasize χρηστά (see Ex. Notes). Also, as Wecklein says, the corruption is easily explained, if this was the order, from the similarity of -χρησαι and χρηστά. 384. δῶσω PL, δῶ σὼν Dawes *Miscell. Crit.* p. 341; a splendid emendation. 388. μετετέμην εὐβουλίᾳ PL, μετεθέμην εὐβουλίαν Monk, who compares *Orestes* 254 μετέθου λύσσαν. The word μετεθέμην is very liable to be mis-written (Monk says a Paris copy had μετέθην), as is also the last syllable in a tetrameter; on the other hand μετετέθην εὐβουλίᾳ is not a natural Greek expression, and in particular, though μεταθέσθαι for 'to change one's mind' is common, the passive is, I believe, nowhere so used. Weil accepts μετεθέμην but keeps εὐβουλίᾳ. 389. Over μᾶλλον an early hand in L has written μαίνη: a good instance of an explanatory addition in

look', Firnhaber 'mordgieriges Auge'. The ἔχων points to something more enduring than a glance, and this, as well as the general tone of the passage inclines me to think with Monk that αἰ. ὁ. ἔχων means 'with flushed face'. Menelaus had shown no fratricidal hate.

382. κέχρησαι] elsewhere it is only the participle κεχρημένος that is used in the sense of 'want'. There is, I think, a significance in the emphatic position of χρηστά which helps us to understand the train of thought. Ag. says in effect: 'you have had a bad wife, are you angry because you can't get a good one?' cp. v. 486 and see notes there.

Some have thought that λαβεῖν stood for ἀναλαβεῖν: but χρηστά λέκτρα (cp. *Hipp.* 636 and frag. 524 Nauck) cannot refer to Helen.

383. 'That is more than I can promise to secure to you, you managed so ill last time'. Vater compares *Andromache* 591 ff.

384. 'Imitatur Ennius *Iphigenia* apud J. Rufinianum de *Fig. Sent. et Eloc.* c. 37' Pors. The lines quoted from Ennius are: *Ego proiector, quod tu peccas? tu delinquis, ego arguor? Pro malefactis Helena redeat? virgo pereat innocens? Tua reconcilietur uxor? mea necetur filia?* (Ribbeck, *Ennius*, v. 194).

385. τὸ φιλότιμον] used as in v. 342.—ἀλλ' 'No'.

386. τὸ λελογισμένον] Monk translates 'discretion'. τὸ λελ. and τὸ καλόν answer roughly to our *expediency* and *duty*.

387. πονηροῦ φωτὸς] has the emphasis, 'des plaisirs honteux sont la marque d'un homme sans valeur' Weil: 'proprii di turpe uomo sono turpi piaceri' Vitelli. The v. is marked γνώμη in L and ὥραϊον in P.

389. In κακόν there is a re-echoing of the charge made at the end of v. 387.



ἀναλαβεῖν θέλεις, θεοῦ σοι τὴν τύχην διδόντος εὔ. 390  
 ὤμοσαν τὸν Τυνδάρειον ὄρκον οἱ κακόφρονες  
 φιλόγαμοι μνηστῆρες· ἡ δέ γ' ἐλπὶς, οἶμαι μὲν, θεός,  
 κάξέπραξεν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἢ σὺ καὶ τὸ σὸν σθένος·  
 οὓς λαβὼν στράτευ'· ἔτοιμοι δ' εἰσὶ μωρία φρενῶν· 394  
 οὐ γὰρ ἀσύνητον τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔχει συνιέναι 394 α

a MS. 392. ἡ δέ γ' ἐλπὶς, οἶμαι μὲν PL, ἦγε δ' ἐλπὶς κ.τ.λ. Matthiae and Seyffert, ἡ γὰρ ἐλπὶς κ.τ.λ. Hennig, ἡ δέ σφ' ἐλπὶς ὠρμαινεν Herwerden: it seems to me that all these changes are for the worse. See Expl. Notes. 393. κάξέπραξεν PL, corrected in P to ἐξέπραξεν which is printed in Ald. This is one of the many corrections made by Musurus, the Greek scholar who owned the MS. and who most probably superintended the printing from it at Venice of Aldus' first edition of Euripides. 394. στράτευε . οἶμαι δ' εἴσῃ PL, only in P a γ is inserted by a later hand after στράτευε and before the stop. στράτευ' ἔτοιμοι δ' εἰσὶ Monk. Matthiae is doubtless right in conjecturing that the alteration of this *v.* arose from the loss of *v.* 394a and the consequent necessity of finding a verb to govern τοὺς κακ. παγ. ὄρκους. Though most modern editors adopt Monk's emendation, they do not, as he did, regard ἐτ. δ' εἰσὶ as a parenthesis. 394a. This verse does not occur in the MSS. and early editions, but was discovered by Reiske, Heath, Markl., Musgr. and Valckenaer quoted along with *v.* 395 by

391. τὸν Τυνδάρειον ὄρκον] a good instance of the identity in use of the adj. formed from a proper name and the genitive in Greek. It is only to a very limited extent that this is the case in English: e.g. *Elizabethan*, *Darwinian* could only in a few cases stand for *Elizabeth's* or *Darwin's*.

391—393. The difficulty here lies chiefly in the αὐτὸ in *v.* 393. It cannot be right to interpret it, as most commentators do, of the taking of the oath. There could be no question of Menelaus's using force to compel the suitors to take Tyndareos's oath. He was himself on a level with all the other suitors at that time, and took it like the rest. But when we see that ἐξέπραξεν αὐτό, and indeed the whole three lines, is an explanation of the words θεοῦ σοι τὴν τύχην διδόντος εὔ all difficulties vanish. The connexion of ideas is this. After saying in 390 'you want to get her back just because a divinity has given you a good chance of doing so', Ag. digresses to explain that

Hope was the divinity in the case, and that as Hope had made the suitors swear, it was she who had 'brought it about', i.e. made the expedition possible, and so given Menelaus the chance.

For the converse of this personification of ἐλπὶς cf. *Troades* 987 ff. ἦν οὐμὸς υἱὸς κάλλος εὐπρεπέστατος ὁ σὸς δ' ἰδὼν νιν νοῦς ἐποιήθη Κύπρις· τὰ μῶρα γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτῃ βρότοις. Monk quotes *Cyclops* 316 ὁ πλοῦτος ἀνθρώπισκε τοῖς σοφοῖς θεὸς and Verg. *Aen.* ix. 185 *an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?* Headlam well quotes Theognis i 135 ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀνθρώποις μούνη θεὸς ἐσθλῇ ἐνεστίη and also *ib.* 637 f.

394 α. This *v.* seems to be mainly a comment on the word μωρία, though the position of the word in its sentence hardly seems important enough to justify such a comment.—'They are ready to go, fools that they are:—they *must* be fools not to know that Heaven would not hold them bound by oaths fastened on them by wicked force'. παγέντας lit.



τοὺς κακῶς παγέντας ὄρκους καὶ κατηναγκασμένους. 395  
 τὰμὰ δ' οὐκ ἀποκτενῶ ἡγὼ τέκνα· κοῦ τὸ σὸν μὲν εὖ  
 παρὰ δίκην ἔσται κακίστης εὐνιδος τιμωρία,  
 ἐμὲ δὲ συντήξουσιν νύκτες ἡμέραι τε δακρύοις,  
 ἄνομα δρῶντα κοῦ δίκαια παῖδας οὓς ἐγεινάμην.  
 βραχέα ταῦτά σοι λέλεκται καὶ σαφῆ καὶ ῥάδια. 400  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλει φρονεῖν σύ, τὰμ' ἐγὼ θήσω καλῶς.

ΧΟ. οἶδ' αὖ διάφοροι τῶν πάρος λελεγμένων  
 μύθων, καλῶς δ' ἔχουσι, φείδεσθαι τέκνων.

ΜΕ. αἰαῖ, φίλους ἄρ' οὐχὶ κεκτήμην τάλας.

Theophilus *ad Autolyicum* II. 54, [37] and Stobaeus *Anth.* 28, 10. 395. *συνη-*  
*ναγκασμένους* PL, *κατηναγκασμένους* Theoph. and Stob. 396. *καὶ τὸ σὸν* PL,  
*κοῦ τὸ σὸν* Lenting (on *Androm.* 307) and Hermann. 397. *πέρα δίκης* PL,  
*παρὰ δίκης* Reiske, *παρὰ δίκην* Pors. Monk (like all editors before Musgr.) reads  
*τιμωρία* (it is true that the MSS. omit the *ι* subscr., but so they do constantly in  
 datives, e.g. *μωρία* 393, *εὐβουλία* 388 (L)),—keeping *καὶ* in *v.* 396, and he understands  
*τὸ σὸν εὖ* in the sense of 'that which benefits you', 'your advantage', comparing *τὸ δ'*  
*εὖ* at *Ag.* 119 and *I. T.* 580. 399. *ἐγείναμεν* PL, corr. by an early hand in L  
 to *ἐγεινάμην*. 400. *ῥάδια* PL. It is probable that like so many last words in a  
 tetrameter this is a corruption. Stadtmüller suggests *καίρια* comparing *v.* 829.  
 401. *εὖ* PL, *σύ* Markland. 403. Perhaps we ought to read here *καλῶς δ' ἔχει*  
*σε φείδεσθαι τέκνων*. 404. *ἄρ' οὐχὶ κεκτήμην* PL, *ἄρ' οὐκ ἐκεκτήμην* Heath,  
*ἂν οὐχὶ κεκτήμην* Elmsley (ingeniously but needlessly). Monk and Weil make the

'compacted', 'made fast', as if the oath  
 were a cage or a trap into which the  
 suitors had been forced.

396. *κοῦ κ.τ.λ.*] for the idiomatic *οὐ*  
 negating both a *μὲν* and a *δέ* clause cf.  
*I. T.* 116 f. *οὔτοι μακρὸν μὲν ἤλθομεν*  
*κώπη πόρον, ἐκ τερμάτων δὲ νόστον*  
*ἀροῦμεν πάλιν.*

397. *παρὰ δίκην*] *παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον*  
 Hesych. (Dind.), *παρὰ τ' ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ*  
*δίκαν Trag. adesp.* fr. 72 Nauck. *τιμωρία*  
 an extended use of the dat. of *manner*.

398. With this *v.* is compared the  
 varying construction at *Med.* 25 *τὸν πάντα*  
*συντήκουσα δακρύοις χρόνον, ἰδ.* 141 *ἡ δ' ἐν*  
*θαλάμοις τήκει βιοτήν*: Monk adds *Ω 714*  
*νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δακρυχέουσα.*

399. *δρῶντα*] a sort of historic present  
 used as a poetic variety for the aorist,  
 'the doer' of wrong for 'because I did'  
 wrong. Cf. *Herc. Fur.* 727 *προσδῶκα δὲ*

*δρῶν κακῶς κακὸν τι πράξειν. Hel.* 814  
*δρῶντας γὰρ ἡ μὴ δρῶντας ἥδιον θανεῖν.*

401. *τὰμὰ*] just like the *τὸ σὸν* in  
*v.* 396.

403. *φείδεσθαι*] a variety of the *imperative*  
 use of the inf. Cf. *Trō.* 1031  
*νόμον δὲ τόνδε ταῖς ἄλλαισι θεῖς γυναιξί,*  
*θνῆσκειν ἥτις ἂν προδῶ πόσιν.* Cf. also  
*Soph. Ai.* 1264 and *v.* 512 below. (See  
 however Crit. N. for a suggested altera-  
 tion.)

404. Markland compares *Or.* 721  
*ἄφιλος ἦσθ' ἄρ' ὦ πάτερ πρᾶσσω κακῶς.*  
*κεκτήμην* is in sense an imperf. This  
 converse of the historic present—*i.e.* the  
 using a past tense in talking of some state  
 still continuing—is common in many  
 languages. In Greek *ἄρα* as indicating  
 a discovery naturally accompanies it. For  
 the omission of the augment cf. *Soph.*  
*Ant.* 411.

- ΑΓΑ. εἰ τοὺς φίλους γε μὴ θέλεις ἀπολλύναι. 405  
 ΜΕ. δείξεις δὲ ποῦ μοι πατὴρ ἐκ ταύτου γεγώς;  
 ΑΓΑ. συνσωφρονεῖν γὰρ οὐχὶ συννοσεῖν ἔφυν.  
 ΜΕ. ἐς κοινὸν ἀλγεῖν τοῖς φίλοισι χρή φίλους.  
 ΑΓΑ. εὖ δρῶν παρακάλει μ', ἀλλὰ μὴ λυπῶν ἐμέ.  
 ΜΕ. οὐκ ἄρα δοκεῖ σοι τάδε πονεῖν σὺν Ἑλλάδι; 410  
 ΑΓΑ. Ἑλλὰς δὲ σὺν σοὶ κατὰ θεῶν νοσεῖ τινα.  
 ΜΕ. σκήπτρῳ νυν αὔχει, σὸν κασίγνητον προδοῦς.

\* \* \* \* \*

[ἐγὼ δ' ἐπ' ἄλλας εἶμι μηχανάς τινας,

line a question. 407. συνσωφρονεῖν σοι βούλομαι ἀλλ' οὐ συννοσεῖν PL, συνσωφρονεῖν γάρ, οὐχὶ συννοσεῖν ἔφυν Plut. II. p. 64 c (first pointed out by Porson). Fix conjectures that Plutarch, quoting from memory, was misled by a remembrance of Soph. *Ant.* 523 οὗτοι συνεχθεῖν ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν, and like Nauck, Vitelli, Weil and Wecklein prefers some emendation (βουλόμεσθ' οὐ Fix, βούλομαι κοῦ N., θέλομεν ἀλλ' οὐ, and later βουλόμενος οὐ Vitelli, συνσωφρονεῖν ἔτοιμος, ἀλλ' οὐ Wecklein) which will remove the impossible elision of the *αι* in βούλομαι. It seems to me less likely on the whole that Plutarch should have quoted the line wrong than that modern scholars should have guessed it right. At the same time the *σοι* of the mss. fits the context much better than Plutarch's γάρ. Perhaps the γάρ, like the ἔφυν for ἔφυν was an intentional modification of what Euripides wrote, which may have been τᾶρ'. The γάρ is at any rate not more abrupt than the δὲ in v. 411. Porson notices that where at *Ion* 1521 the mss. have γάρ, the scholiast on *Phoen.* 909 has σοι, which he thinks right there. 411. θεὸν PL, θεῶν Porson. 412. αὔχει PL, αὔχει Tyrwhit (a beautiful emendation). vv. 413—441. I have no hesitation in following L. and G. Dindorf, Kirchhoff and Nauck in regarding these verses as an interpolation. They contain just three good lines (vv. 427—429) which I should conjecture to have been borrowed by the interpolator. The inequality of texture is specially noticeable at the two junctures, but there are throughout many irregularities in both thought and language which will be commented on in the Explanatory Notes. This omission involves important dramaturgical results. Clytaemnestra appears in the next Epeisodion. Agamemnon first addresses her at v. 685 without any expression of astonishment at seeing her, though in all earlier references to the expected arrival (τῇ σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ at v. 154 being probably spurious) whether made by Ag. or Menelaus, the *daughter* only is spoken of. Still greater difficulty is occasioned by vv. 456—459 where Agam. definitely implies that Clytaemnestra was *not* expected. This fact makes it still more remarkable that Ag.'s first words to his wife at

407. Cf. *Phoen.* 394 καὶ τοῦτο λυπρὸν, συνασφεῖν τοῖς μὴ σοφοῖς.

408. ἐς κοινόν] Adverbial phrases consisting of a prep. and a noun or adj. are as common in Greek as in English. Other instances in this play are εἰς τέλος

v. 161, πρὸς τανειδὲς v. 379. Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 594 πρὸς ἰσχύος κράτος.

409. i.e. 'Such a claim comes with a bad grace from one who is *causing* his friends pain'.

φίλους τ' ἐπ' ἄλλους. ΑΓΓ. ὦ Πανελλήνων ἀναξ,  
 Ἀγάμεμνον, ἦκω παῖδά σοι τὴν σὴν ἄγων, 415  
 ἦν Ἴφιγένειαν ὠνόμαζας ἐν δόμοις.  
 μήτηρ δ' ὁμαρτεῖ, σῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας δέμας,  
 [καὶ παῖς Ὀρέστης, ὥστε τερφθείης ἰδών,]  
 χρόνον παλαιὸν δωμάτων ἐκδημος ὢν.  
 ἀλλ' ὡς μακρὰν ἔτεινον, εὖρυτον παρὰ 420  
 κρήνην ἀναψύχουσι θηλύπουν βάσιν,  
 αὐταὶ τε πῶλοί τ'· εἰς δὲ λειμώνων χλόην  
 καθέμιν αὐτάς, ὡς βορᾶς γενσαίατο.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ πρόδρομος σῆς παρασκευῆς χάριν

v. 685 (to which the fact that they begin midway in a line gives a specially off-hand air—making them seem like the resumption of a former conversation) should contain not only no formal welcome but no reference to the fact that her coming is a surprise to her husband. On these grounds I cannot help believing that a passage containing the first meeting of husband and wife has been lost. Probably this passage came before v. 640. This belief involves the rejection of at least vv. 456—459 where see Crit. Notes.

413 and 414 Hennig, who protests against rejecting the whole passage, rejects these two verses. This lightens the ship considerably but cannot save it.

416. ὠνόμαζας PL, (though Vitelli is silent) with ποτ' added by a late hand in P, doubtless by Musurus, who printed ὠνόμασας ποτ'. ὠνόμαζες Markl.

417. ὁμαρτεῖ L, ὁμαρτοῖ corrected by an early hand to ὁμαρτεῖ P. σῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας δέμας PL, σὴ Κλυταιμνήστρα δάμαρ Elmsley.

418. ὥστε τερφθείης PL, actually defended by Hartung, Firmhaber and Klotz, ὥς τι τερφθείης Herm., ὥς σὺ τ. Monk, ὥστ' ἂν ἡσθείης Hennig.

421. Hennig proposes χηλόπουν for the θηλύπουν of the MSS. thus avoiding (see on next v.) the absurdity of talking of sending the ladies and the horses together into the field to feed. Musgrave avoided this by reading καθέμιν τάσδ' in v. 423.—(ἀφείμιν αὐτάς Hennig).

422. αὐταὶ τε πῶλοι γ' PL (the γ' added later in P), πῶλοί τ'

414. φίλους τ' ἐπ' ἄλλους] This comes in very awkwardly just after Men. (v. 404) had bewailed his friendless condition.

417. δέμας] Paley quotes *Electr.* 1340 and *Hec.* 724 and Monk *Orest.* 107 for this use of δέμας with a gen. of a person. It is a circumlocution of the same kind as the Homeric βίη Ἡρακλεείη.

418. Paley quotes *Ion* 1375 f. (καὶ τι τερφθῆναι βίον) in support of Hermann's ὥς τι τερφθείης.

420. ὡς μακρὰν ἔτεινον] At Soph. *Aj.* 1040, Aesch. *Ag.* 1296 μακρὰν τελευτῶν is used in the sense of the prose

λόγον μακρὸν ἀποτείνειν, 'to speak at length', and it is strange to find it used in so different a sense here. The tense too is strange. L. Dindorf says a clause in which ὥς means *nam* can never come before its principal clause. This seems an arbitrary rule, and indeed Hermann quotes from Xen. *Cyr.* 4, 2, 29, a clear instance in which it does so.

424. σῆς παρασκευῆς χάριν] It is not till after a digression of 10 lines that we find what this strange expression means. The possessive σῆς is used subjectively, not objectively.

ἤκω· πέπυσται γὰρ στρατός, ταχεῖα γὰρ  
 διῆξε φήμη, παῖδα σὴν ἀφιγμένην. 425  
 πᾶς δ' εἰς θέαν ὄμιλος ἔρχεται δρόμῳ,  
 σὴν παῖδ' ὅπως ἴδωσιν· οἱ δ' εὐδαίμονες  
 ἐν πᾶσι κλεινοὶ καὶ περίβλεπτοι βροτοῖς.  
 λέγουσι δ' ὑμέναίος τις ἢ τί πράσσεται; 430  
 ἢ πόθον ἔχων θυγατρὸς Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ  
 ἐκόμισε παῖδα; τῶν δ' ἂν ἤκουσας τάδε·  
 Ἀρτέμιδι προτελίζουσι τὴν νεάνίδα,  
 Αὐλίδος ἀνάσση. τίς νιν ἄξεταί ποτε;  
 ἀλλ' εἶα, τὰπὶ τοισιδ' ἐξάρχου κανᾶ, 435  
 στεφανοῦσθε κράτα καὶ σύ, Μενέλεως ἄναξ,

Markland, αὐτοῖσι (? for αὐταῖσι) πώλοισ Porson, ἔπποι τε πῶλοί τ' Hennig. 425. ταχεῖα γὰρ PL (the γὰρ being corrected by an early hand in P to δέ), Hartung reads δέ for the first γὰρ and keeps the second unchanged. 430. πράσσεται PL, with an alternative πράσσετε in L. 434. ποτε PL, πόσις Nauck. 435. τοισιδ' P, τοῖσιν L (the ν being by an early hand in an erasure). 436. 'Aut spurius

425 f. ταχεῖα γὰρ διῆξε φήμη] a parenthesis. It is possible that διῆξε was intended by the writer to be a gnomic aorist.

430. ὑμέναίος τις ἢ τί πράσσεται] I think these words have an especially modern ring.

432. ἂν ἤκουσας] probably a mixture of the *iterative* ἂν with the aor. ind. (cf. Ar. *Lysistr.* 510 καὶ πολλάκις ἔνδον ἂν οὔσαι ἠκούσαμεν ἂν τι κακῶς ὑμᾶς βουλευσαμένους μέγα πρᾶγμα) and the indefinite, general use of the 2nd person in the sense of our 'one' doubtless familiar to the interpolator in Latin (*videres, diceres, crederes* and the like). (If this were the only instance of Latin idiom in the passage there would not be this probability.)

433. A clumsy attempt at tragic irony. This very significant hint of Iphigeneia's fate is dragged in 'by the head and shoulders'.

προτελίζουσι] The form is a slight indication of the late origin of the passage. At Pollux 3, 38 in an account of the pre-nuptial consecration only one MS. has προτελίζεσθαι and προὔτελίζον for

the more usual προτελείσθαι and προὔτέλουν. In classic Greek there are about a dozen verbs which may be said to have alternative present forms in -έω and -ίζω. In post-classical Greek -ίζω grew in favour and many verbs, which had only -έω in earlier times, then assumed the favourite ending.

434. ἄξεταί] Another Latinism. ἄγειν and ἄγεσθαι never got the special sense of 'marry' which *ducere* did. Though used with γυναικα as *object* (Hdt. I. 59, II. 47) it is not used exclusively with the husband as the *subject* (Hdt. I. 34).

435. ἐξάρχου κανᾶ] The interpolator was doubtless familiar with such passages as Aeschines 70, 31 (ἐνήρκται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ) and Eur. *EL*. 1142 (κανοῦν δ' ἐνήρκται), but, like the 7th ed. of Liddell and Scott (*s.v.* ἐνάρχομαι), he confounded ἐνάρχεσθαι with ἐξάρχεσθαι. The clumsy change from the sing. ἐξάρχου to the plural στεφανοῦσθε and back to the sing. εὐτρέπιζε is very imperfectly palliated by the awkward introduction of Menelaus. About this point the interpolator (luckily) shows signs of fatigue.



ὑμέναιον εὐτρέπιζε καὶ κατὰ στέγας  
 λωτὸς βοάσθω καὶ ποδῶν ἔστω κτύπος·  
 φῶς γὰρ τόδ' ἦκει μακάριον τῇ παρθένῳ.  
 ΑΓΑ. ἐπῆνεσ'· ἀλλὰ στείχε δωμάτων ἔσω·  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἰούσης τῆς τύχης ἔσται καλῶς.]

440

\* \* \* \* \*

ΑΓΑ. οἶμοι, τί φῶ δύστηνος; ἄρξομαι πόθεν;  
 εἰς οὔ' ἀνάγκης ζεύγματ' ἐμπεπτώκαμεν.  
 ὑπῆλθε δαίμων, ὥστε τῶν σοφισμάτων  
 πολλῶ γενέσθαι τῶν ἐμῶν σοφώτερος.  
 ἡ δυσγένεια δ' ὥς ἔχει τι χρήσιμον.

445

aut corruptus' Nauck. Herm. (*Opusc.*) inserted φύλλοις before κῤῥατα and omits the next six words. 438. λωτὸς corr. (as in P, in v. 375 ἄρχων to ἄρχων) to λωτὸς PL. 441. ἰούσης PL, ἐώσης Lenting. 442. ἄρξομαι PL, ἄρξωμαι Burges, σέθεν PL, πόθεν Grotius. 443. εἰς οἷ γ' ἀνάγκης with the γ crossed out—i.e. the γ had been put in by someone who was correcting P by L, but there is no trace of the α of οἷα· εἰς οἷα γ' ἀνάγκης L. In P the μ of ἐμπεπτώκαμεν is put in

440. ἐπῆνεσα] does not seem to be used like the pres. both of this verb and αἰνέω in the sense of 'no, thank you'. It generally corresponds to our 'good!', and the French 'c'est bien'. It is better to punctuate more decidedly after the word, as Paley does. The ἀλλά will then be 'pray', not 'but', which gives no sense. There is no contrast between Ag.'s commendation and his request to the messenger to go inside the tent. The line is a copy of *Medea* 1019, where however a reason for the request follows.

441. What are τὰ ἄλλα? and what does ἰούσης τῆς τύχης mean? Hermann's translation '*fortuna cursum suum persequente*' as against the old '*favente fortuna*' (he quotes Soph. *O. T.* 1458) is now generally approved of. Paley says the phrase is intentionally ambiguous. In the third place καλῶς ἔσται with τὰ ἄλλα as its subject is irregular for καλῶς ἔξει (καλῶς ἔσται ἦν θεὸς θέλη at Ar. *Plut.* 1188 and at Xen. *Anab.* 7, 3, 43 gives it some support, but there the ἔσται has no subject). When all is said and done we

get 'But the other things, in the course of events, will turn out well'.

443. εἰς οἷα = ὅτι εἰς τοιαῦτα.

444. ὑπῆλθεν] is used in very much the same sense at v. 67.—These laments of Ag. are generally supposed to be caused by the announcement of his wife and daughter's arrival. As I have said above, I believe no such announcement had been made, and I take these words to refer to the crossing of his plans by the interception of the letter. He knew now that his daughter must arrive soon.

446—449. Cp. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Maid's Tragedy* v. 2 'But such the misery of greatness is, They have no time for tears'. For ἅπαντα εἰπεῖν (*quidvis dicere*) Musgr. compares Diphilus (in Athenaeus 4, 223 B) οἷς ἐξουσία ἐστὶν λέγειν ἅπαντα καὶ ποιεῖν μόνους, also Plat. *Ap.* 38 D and 39 A. Ennius [*Iph.* v. 197 Ribbeck (fr. xi. Vahlen)] imitates this passage: *licet Lacrumare plebi, regi honeste non licet*.

καὶ γὰρ δακρῦσαι ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς ἔχει,  
 ἅπαντά τ' εἶπεῖν. τῷ δὲ γενναίῳ φύσιν  
 ἀνολβα ταῦτα. προστάτην δὲ τοῦ βίου  
 τὸν ὄγκον ἔχομεν τῷ τ' ὄχλῳ δουλεύομεν. 450  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκβαλεῖν μὲν αἰδοῦμαι δάκρυ,  
 τὸ μὴ δακρῦσαι δ' αὖθις οὐ σθένω τάλας,  
 εἰς τὰς μεγίστας συμφορὰς ἀφιγμένος.  
 [εἶεν, τί φήσω πρὸς δάμαρτα τὴν ἐμήν;  
 πῶς δέξομαι νιν; ποῖον ὄμμα συμβάλω; 455  
 καὶ γάρ μ' ἀπώλεσ' ἐπὶ κακοῖς ἃ μοι πάρος

by a later hand above the line. 448—450. In P and L ἀνολβα begins *v.* 448 and ἅπαντα *v.* 449. Musgrave was the first to see that these two words were accidentally transposed. In P ἐστι is written (though not by the first hand, I think) over ἅπαντα. This is an indication that ἀνολβα once stood there. ἐστι would not so naturally be supplied to ἅπαντα (it would have been put in after ταῦτα). The ἐστι was copied in the right line by someone who did not notice that the words were transposed.—γε τοῦ PL, δὲ τοῦ in Plutarch, who at *Nic.* 526 c has προστάτην δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸν ὄγκον ἔχομεν τῷ δ' ὄχλῳ δουλεύομεν (τὸν δῆμον, and τῷ τ' PL). Firnhaber, the great champion of the MSS. leaves ἀνολβα and ἅπαντα untransposed (though he adopts Matthiae's τε for the MSS. γε in *v.* 449), and prefers δῆμον to ὄγκον, but he actually proposes (and prints) an emendation in the latter half of the line. Here it is: τῷ τ' ὄγκῳ δουλεύομεν!! (It is hard to account for δῆμον. Probably ὄχλον was first written by mistake for ὄγκον, and then δῆμον substituted by an "improver" for ὄχλον.—Bremi thinks it got in as a gloss on ὄχλῳ.) 452. αἰδοῦμαι PL, αἰδοῦμαι PL, clearly repeated by mistake from the preceding *v.*, οὐ δύναμαι Markl., ἀδύνατος Wecklein, οὐκ ἔχω or οὐ σθένω Dobree. I think Dobree's second is the best of all the guesses. *vv.* 454—459. I think these words are an interpolation by the hand of the interpolator of *vv.* 413—441. Some reference to Clytaemnestra's unexpected arrival was inevitable here if Agamemnon knew of it. It is equally necessary though that when Ag. first meets his wife he should express his surprise. This expression however our interpolator has failed to provide for us. As we have the text Ag. first addresses his wife in the middle of *v.* 685. See above on *vv.* 413 ff. 455. συμβάλω PL, corrected by a later hand in P to συμβαλῶ—the same question as came before us on *v.* 442. In both cases I have left the MSS. reading unchanged. It is curious that a Paris copy of L should have ὄνομα for ὄμμα here (cf. on *v.* 354). It shows that this common mistake was due to the eye or ear, and not to a misapprehension of the sense. 456. πάρος PL, corrected to

451. ἐκβαλεῖν δάκρυ] Cf. τ 362 δάκρυα δ' ἐκβαλε θερμά, below *v.* 477. *Hec.* 298, *Heracl.* 129, *Ion* 924.

455. For ποῖον ὄμμα Vitelli compares *Soph. Ai.* 462: ὄμμα συμβαλεῖν does not seem to occur in this sense elsewhere, but it sounds good Greek. Indeed this

and the preceding *v.* are two good lines: far better than the following four.

456 f. ἐπὶ κακοῖς...ἐλθοῦσά] At *v.* 1237 below ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ with the dat. is used in quite a different sense. There ἐπὶ means *with a view to*, here *on the top of* or *in the midst of*.

ἐλθοῦς ἄκλητος. εἰκότως δ' αἶμ' ἔσπετο  
 θυγατρὶ, νυμφεύουσα καὶ τὰ φίλτατα  
 δώσουσ', ἵν' ἡμᾶς ὄντας εὐρήσει κακοῦς.]  
 τὴν δ' αὖ τάλαιναν παρθένον· τί παρθένον; 460  
 "Αἰδης νιν ὡς ἔοικε νυμφεύσει τάχα·  
 ὥς ῥ' ἔκτισ'· [οἶμαι γάρ νιν ἱκετεύσειν τάδε·  
 ὦ πάτερ, ἀποκτενεῖς με; τοιούτους γάμους  
 γήμειας αὐτὸς χῶστις ἐστὶ σοι φίλος.  
 παρὼν δ' Ὀρέστης ἐγγὺς ἀναβοήσεται 465  
 οὐ συνετὰ συνετῶς· ἔτι γάρ ἐστι νήπιος.  
 αἰαῖ, τὸν] Ἑλένης ὡς μ' ἀπώλεσεν γάμον  
 γήμας ὁ Πριάμου Πάρις, ὃ μ' εἵργασται τάδε.

πάρα (by Musurus?) in P; in L ὑπῆρχε is written over πάρος by m<sup>2</sup>. 458. νυμφεύουσα PL, νυμφεύσουσα Markland (cf. on v. 885). vv. 462—467. I believe from οἶμαι in 462 to τὸν in 467 to be an interpolation. In the first place the wish expressed by Iph. in 464 is stupid in itself and utterly out of harmony with the heroine's character. It was doubtless suggested by *I. T.* 364 (ὦ πάτερ νυμφεύομαι νυμφεύματ' αἰσχροῖα πρὸς σέθεν). As Hennig says, too, such a wish is an *imprecation*, not a *supplication* (ἱκετεύσαι). Markland took it ironically. In the next place I thoroughly agree with Wecklein that the Baby is a supposititious one, and that all passages in which he is introduced are, like itself, not Euripidean (see Introduction). Possibly it was introduced by some enterprising theatrical manager, who thought a baby in arms would improve the look of the group or please the audience. One funny idea about this Baby is that of P. Brumoy (*Théâtre des Grecs* Eng. Trans. i. 358), that vv. 468 and 469 are what the Baby is supposed to call out (ἀναβοήσεται). 462. ἱκετεύσαι PL, ἱκετεύσειν (which is much better) Markl. 466. οὐ ξυνετὰ ξυνετῶς P, in L these words begin with σ (m<sup>1</sup>) in an erasure: i.e. ξ was in the original from which P and L were copied. ἀσύνετα σ. Monk. 468. ὅς μ' PL. Porson (on *Hec.* 13 where see his note) approves of Markland's (so also Musgrave and Heath) ὅ μ', but most editors have followed the alternative suggestion of Heath and Markland to reject the μ'. Surely it is more likely that the ὅ should have been turned to ὅς than

458. τὰ φίλτατα] An ordinary periphrasis for τέκνον (cf. Valckenaer's note on *Phoen.* 437 [434]). It comes in very lamely here.

459. ἵνα] A Latinism, *ubi* could stand very well for *wherein*, but not *ina*. At § 27 *ina* means *when, an occasion on which*, but the words here do not (I think) mean that Clyt. will find out his villainy on the occasion of the actual marriage, but that she will find out that he has played her false in the matter of the marriage.

460. τί παρθένον;] Cf. *Hec.* 612 παρ-

θένον τ' ἀπάρθενον, spoken of Polyxena in a like situation.

461. For the idea of this v. cf. *I. T.* 369 "Αἰδης Ἀχιλλεύς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως ὃν μοι προτείνεις πόσιν κ.τ.λ. Monk also compares *Or.* 1109, *Soph. Ant.* 653, and 815, *Romeo and Juliet* iv. 5 and v. 3.

465. The ἐγγὺς is evidently put in to make out the verse.

466. For οὐ συνετὰ συνετῶς Vitelli cf. *Tro.* 625 Ταλθύβιος αἰνιγμ' οὐ σαφῶς εἶπεν σαφές. Cp. also *Phoen.* 1506, and *I. T.* 1092.

- ΧΟ. καὶ γὰρ κατ' ἄκτιν', ὥς γυναιῖκα δεῖ ξένην  
ὑπὲρ τυράννων συμφορᾶς καταστένειν. 470
- ΜΕ. ἀδελφέ, δός μοι δεξιᾶς τῆς σῆς θιγεῖν.
- ΑΓΑ. δίδωμι· σὸν γὰρ τὸ κράτος, ἄθλιος δ' ἐγώ.
- ΜΕ. Πέλοπα κατόμνυμ', ὃς πατὴρ τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς  
τοῦ σοῦ τ' ἐκλήθη, τὸν τεκόντα τ' Ἀτρεά,  
ἧ μὴν ἐρεῖν σοι τὰ πὸ καρδίας σαφῶς 475  
καὶ μὴ ἰπίτηδες μηδὲν ἄλλ' ὅσον φρονῶ.  
ἐγὼ σ' ἀπ' ὅσων ἐκβαλόντ' ἰδὼν δάκρυ  
ῥέκτιρα καὶ τὸς ἀνταφῆκά σοι πάλιν  
καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐξαφίσταμαι λόγων,  
οὐκ εἰς σέ δεινός· εἴμι δ' οὐπὲρ εἶ σὺ νῦν· 480  
καὶ σοι παραίνω μήτ' ἀποκτείνειν τέκνα

that a *μ'* should have been inserted. Hartung rejects this verse, taking *γάμον* as acc. after *αἰαῖ*. 470. If it were not for the quotation of *v.* 377 by Stobaeus I should believe that it and *v.* 403 and this *v.* 470 were all added by an interpolator (*οἷδ'* having been put for *τάδ'* at 403). Anyhow I think there must be some corruption here (see Ex. Notes). Perhaps we ought to read *ἀνδρῶν τυράννων συμφορᾶς*. 481. *τέκνον* PL, *τέκνα* Elmsley. A very likely mistake; since the next line ends in *ον* and the

469. *ὥς*] The sense shows this to be not *causal* ('since') but *limiting* ('in as far as'). Firnh. aptly quotes *Rhes.* 904 where *ὅσον* is used.

470. *ὑπὲρ τ. συμφορᾶς*] The simple *στένω* is properly intransitive, but *καταστένω* is always transitive, and it is very extraordinary to find it here with *ὑπέρ*. There is no special point in the *τυράννων* coming after *ξένην*. If for *ξένην* we had had some word meaning 'subject' it would have been in place, but now it is not.

471. It is not, as Firnhaber says, '*tout comme chez nous*', in token of reconciliation, but as part of the formality of swearing the oath that follows in *v.* 473, that Menelaus asks Ag. to let him take his hand.

472. *σὸν γὰρ τὸ κράτος*] *κράτος* ἔχειν is a common periphrasis in Euripides for *κρατεῖν*: here *σὸν γὰρ τὸ κράτος* = *κεκράτηκας* 'you have won, I give way, and I will agree to anything you wish'. Apparently he regarded Menelaus's re-

quest for his hand as a proposal to make a covenant with him.

476. *ἐπίτηδες*] The unusual significance of this word is made clear by the addition of *ἀλλ' ὅσον φρονῶ*. Unpremeditated expression of feeling is opposed to carefully calculated attempts to deceive. Menelaus 'protests too much'.

478. *ἀνταφῆκα*] With this word is coupled *ἐξαφίσταμαι* and therefore to complete the sense of the former verb we must supply *τοὺς παλαιούς λόγους* from the genitives which complete the sense of the latter. (Vitelli wrongly supplies *δάκρυ*.) Hence *καὶ τὸς* is *and of my own accord*, not *I myself too*.

480. *οὐκ εἰς σέ δεινός*] Cp. *Bacchae* 856 *ἐκ τῶν ἀπειλῶν τῶν πρὶν, αἰσι δεινὸς ἦν*. The rest of the *v.* apparently means 'I will now go along with you' (—'where you are going') i.e. 'I will no longer try to go a different way—no longer oppose you'. Monk says it means 'I will place myself in your present situation'.



μήτ' ἀνθελέσθαι τοῦμόν. οὐ γὰρ ἔνδικον  
 σὲ μὲν στενάζειν, τὰμὰ δ' ἡδέως ἔχειν,  
 θνήσκειν τε τοὺς σοὺς, τοὺς δ' ἐμούς ὁρᾶν φάος.  
 τί βούλομαι γάρ; οὐ γάμους ἐξαιρέτους 485  
 ἄλλους λάβοιμ' ἄν, εἰ γάμων ἱμείρομαι;  
 ἀλλ' ἀπολέσας ἀδελφόν, ὃν μ' ἤκιστ' ἐχρῆν,  
 Ἑλένην ἔλωμαι, τὸ κακὸν ἀντὶ τάγαθου;  
 ἄφρων νέος τ' ἢ πρὶν· τὰ πράγματ' ἐγγύθεν  
 σκοπῶν ἐσεῖδον οἷον ἦν κτείνειν τέκνα. 490  
 ἄλλως τέ μ' ἔλεος τῆς ταλαιπώρου κόρης  
 εἰσῆλθε, συγγένειαν ἐννοουμένῳ,  
 ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν ἕκατι θύεσθαι γάμων  
 μέλλει. τί δ' Ἑλένης παρθένῳ τῇ σῇ μέτα;  
 ἵτω στρατεία διαλυθεῖς' ἐξ Αὐλίδος. 495  
 σὺ δ' ὄμμα παῦσαι δακρύοις τέγγων τὸ σόν,  
 ἀδελφέ, καμὲ παρακαλῶν εἰς δάκρυα.

three previous and the two following *vv.* all end in *ν*: again, τέκνα is better than τέκνον for the reason that the latter would make the following τοῦμόν ambiguous. Elmsley also proposed ἀποκτεῖναι for ἀποκτείνειν without sufficient reason I think. 484. This line seems to me very much like an interpolation. There

was no question of the *death* of any one belonging to Menelaus. 489. τὰ πράγματα δ' PL, τὸ πρᾶγμα δ' Barnes. The mss. δ' is evidently an (unmetrical) attempt to get rid of an asyndeton (one of the commonest sources of wilful errors in mss.). Lenting would put a stop before, but not after πρὶν, and take it as a conjunction (*until*) with ἐσεῖδον. At first sight this seems plausible, but it makes very poor sense. I much prefer the asyndeton as I have printed it, and next to this Barnes' τὸ πρᾶγμα δ'. (For the asyndeton see *vv.* 500 ff.) 492. ἐννοουμένῳ P, ἐννοουμένῳ L. 495. στρατιά PL, στρατεία Barnes. διαλυθεῖς' P, διαλυσεῖς' L, corrected by an early hand to διαλυθεῖς'. 496. τέγκων P, τέγγων L. 498.

482. μήτ' ἀνθελέσθαι τοῦμόν] 'nor to put my interests in the place of your own'. Paley notices that Hesych. gives προκρῖναι as an equivalent for ἀνθελέσθαι.

486. εἰ] with the ind. pres. here means 'if, as you say', referring to *v.* 382, where Ag. had suggested that what Men. wanted was perhaps a good wife. Cf. the χρηστὰ λέκτρα there with the γάμοι ἐξάιρετοι here.

489. νέος] 'impatient'. For ἦ cf. Rutherford *New Phryg.* p. 242 ff.

491. ἄλλως τε] is (I think) used elliptically for ἄλλως τε καί, just as ἄλλο τι is sometimes used for ἄλλο τι ἢ in questions: it means 'above all'.

492. ἐννοουμένῳ] Euripides always uses the middle tenses or the 1st aor. pass. of this verb. For the change of case cf. *Medea* 57. Vitelli remarks that though the change from the dat. to the acc. is common, these two passages contain the only instances of the converse change (*Soph. O. T.* 350 ff. not being precisely analogous).

εἰ δέ τι κόρης σῆς θεσφάτων μέτεστί σοι,  
μὴ μοὶ μετέστω· σοὶ νέμω τοῦμὸν μέρος.  
ἀλλ' εἰς μεταβολὰς ἦλθον ἀπὸ δεινῶν λόγων. 500  
εἰκὸς πέπονθα· τὸν ὁμόθεν πεφυκότα  
στέργων μετέπεσον. ἀνδρὸς οὐ κακοῦ τόδε,  
τρόποισι χρῆσθαι τοῖσι βελτίστοις αἰεί.

ΧΟ. γενναῖ' ἔλεξας Ταντάλῳ τε τῷ Διὸς

This *v.* I have left as it is in the mss. Markland proposed μοι for σοι: Weil not only adopted this change (as have several other editors), but transposed μοι and σῆς. (See Explanatory Notes.) 499. μή μοι PL, μή μοι Herm. 500. ἀλλ' εἰς PL, εἰ δ' ἐς Herm. (*Orusc.*). 502 f. τρόποι with αι written over the οι probably by the first hand PL. (Wilamowitz is wrong about P), τοιοῖδε P, τοιαῖδε with an αι written over the αι by the first hand L (in P the οι had a circumflex, corrected to an acute), in L γνω. (γνώμη) is written at the side. The χρῆσθαι τοῖσι βελτίστοις as it stands (whether βελτίστοις be taken as masc. or neut.) seems a very meagre expression. The variation in the mss. points, as Wilamowitz says, to two readings—τρόποι τοιοῖδε and τροπαὶ τοιαῖδε—in the original mss. from which P and L were copied. It seems to me likely that the last word of *v.* 502 was obliterated early and that the original reading of the two vv. may have been ἀνδρὸς οὐ κακοῦ τόδε, | τρόποισι χρῆσθαι τοῖσι βελτίστοις αἰεί.—In L a τό is written by an early hand over (the χρ of) χρῆσθαι. 504 f. To get rid of the asyndeton Pierson proposed

498 f. In these two lines Menelaus is, I think, playing again on the string which he touched in *v.* 495. While ostensibly urging his brother to spare his daughter's life he cunningly suggests to Agamemnon's mind just those consequences of such a course which he knew he could not bear to think of. At *v.* 495 it is the dissolution of the armament which had chosen him its chief and looked to him to lead it to glory. Here he says in effect: 'If you have anything to gain by doing as the oracle bids you that is another matter; I at all events do not wish to be the gainer by such a sacrifice'. In the words σοὶ νέμω τοῦμὸν μέρος he says the same thing over again, rather fancifully pursuing the idea of representing his claim as a kind of commercial obligation: 'all my interest I make over to you'.

500. ἀλλά] 'the fact is'.—In the word δεινῶν especially, and in the whole sentence there seems to be a reference to the δεινός in *v.* 480 where Menelaus is

saying that he has changed his tone and his language. Between the three sentences of which this is the first there is the same forcible asyndeton that was noticed in the critical note on *v.* 489. Weil takes ἀλλά, as at *Hipp.* 966 and 1013, as introducing an imaginary objection and puts a ; at the end of the *v.* On the whole I think this less likely: the remark is more natural as a statement of Men. than as an (imaginary) objection made by his brother.

501. εἰκὸς πέπονθα] This use of εἰκός is unusual: elsewhere it is the plural εἰκότα that is so used, and the singular εἰκός is only used for εἰκός ἐστι.

502. στέργων μετέπεσον] The context makes the sense of the participle quite clear. It does not bear to the finite verb the relation which a participle bears to παύομαι or λήγω, but has the force of a participle with ἄρχομαι, φθάνω and τυγχάνω. μεταπίπτω is not used by Sophocles or Aeschylus.

- πρέποντα· προγόνους οὐ καταισχύνεις σέθεν. 505  
 ΑΓΑ. αἰνῶ σε, Μενέλεως, ὅτι παρὰ γνώμην ἐμὴν  
 ὑπέθηκας ὀρθῶς τοὺς λόγους σοῦ τ' ἀξίως.  
 [ΜΕ. παραχὴ γ' ἀδελφῶν γε δι' ἔρωτα γίνεται  
 πλεονεξίαν τε δωμάτων· ἀπέπτυσα  
 τοιάνδε συγγένειαν ἀλλήλοιν πικράν. 510  
 ΑΓΑ.] ἀλλ' ἤκομεν γὰρ εἰς ἀναγκαίας τύχας,  
 θυγατρὸς αἵματηρὸν ἐκπράξαι φόνον.  
 ΜΕ. πῶς; τίς δ' ἀναγκάσει σε τὴν γε σὴν κτανεῖν;  
 ΑΓΑ. ἅπας Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος στρατεύματος.  
 ΜΕ. οὐκ, ἦν νιν Ἄργος ἐξαποστείλης πάλιν. 515

γενναῖα λέξας, Herm. προγόνους δ'. 505. καταισχύνεις P, καταισχύνεις L.  
 506. Μενέλαος PL, Μενέλεως Barnes. (If Μενέλα', as Musgr. and an earlier anonymous critic suggested, was the original, it would be harder to explain how Μενέλαος came in.) 508—510. The MSS. give these vv. to Menelaus and 511 and 512 to Ag. Hermann would give all the vv. to Ag. παραχὴ γ' PL, παραχὴ δ' Herm. γε δι' ἔρωτα PL (in P the ' ' over the ι are added by a later hand just as they are in v. 518 between *μαντεύματ'* and *Ἀργείων*, while in L there is the mark of an erasure before the *ἔρωτα* and an early hand has written *τις* over the line between *ἀδελφῶν* and *δι'*), διὰ τ' ἔρωτα Dobree. ἀλλήλων PL, ἀλλήλοιν Markland. The majority of editors have, as I think, rightly followed Boeckh in rejecting the three vv. as an interpolation. Burges further suggested that the interpolator meant them to be spoken by the chorus. (They give us two vv. beginning with anapaests following on 507 which also so begins: (to say nothing of the dactyl in the 3rd foot) they contain two words—*παραχὴ* and *πλεονεξία*—which it is not likely Euripides would have used—especially close together: and above all they form an irrelevant interruption in a pointed and coherent speech.) 513. In both P and L the *σε* is inserted above by an early hand. (Vitelli says m<sup>2</sup> in L, I think p. m. in P.) Such a fact as this is a decided indication that the two MSS. were copied from the same original. Apparently the original left the *σε* out—a very likely omission after *-σει*. One Paris copy of L has *ἀναγκάσειε*: evidently this copy was made before the *σε* was inserted. 515. ἦν (not ἦν) L, in P the letter between the ἦ and the νιν is an erasure and a small blot: together the two letters look like *ι*, and a ν is written

506. αἰνῶ σε] Cf. on v. 440. The Scholiast on Ar. *Ran.* 509 interprets *ἐπαινῶ* by οὐ βούλομαι εἰσελθεῖν, and at v. 513 on πάνυ καλῶς says: *παραιτουμένοι οἱ παλαιοὶ ἔλεγον 'κάλλιστ' ἐπαινῶ', καὶ 'ἐπῆνονν'.*

507. ὑπέθηκας κ.τ.λ.] 'you have made a suggestion that is honest, and worthy of yourself'. Weil thinks ὑπ- has here the meaning *substitute*, i.e. put in the place of the former language.

512. ἐκπράξαι] For this infin. see note on v. 403. Here however the infin. has rather more support in the previous words, which in sense are equivalent to *ἀνάγκη ἐστί*.

515. It is remarkable that the earlier editors thought that νιν referred to the Greek army. Markland saw that as all the Greek force had not come from Argos they would not have to go back there (and so proposed *οἴκους* for Ἄργος). Bremi point-

ΑΓΑ. λάθοιμι τοῦτ' ἄν. ἀλλ' ἐκείν' οὐ λήσομεν.

ΜΕ. τὸ ποῖον; οὗτοι χρὴ λίαν ταρβεῖν ὄχλον.

ΑΓΑ. Κάλχας ἐρεῖ μαντεύματ' Ἀργείων στρατῶ.

ΜΕ. οὐκ, ἦν θάνη γε πρόσθε· τοῦτο δ' εὐμαρές.

[ΑΓΑ. τὸ μαντικὸν πᾶν σπέρμα φιλότιμον κακόν.

520

ΜΕ. κοῦδέν γ' ἄχρηστον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον παρόν.]

ΑΓΑ. ἐκείνο δ' οὐ δέδοικας οὐμ' ἐσέρχεται;

above it.—*eis* "Ἄργος ἀποστελεῖς PL, a γ' being inserted between the words in both, certainly not by the first hand. ἀποστελεῖς Markland. The early editions all neglect the ἦν of the MSS. and read *ελ...ἀποστελεῖς*. The γ' has no authority (in P I think it was inserted by Musurus). Kirchhoff, in his ed. of 1855, suggests ἦν νιν "Ἄργος ἐξαποστελεῖς. (I had conjectured *εἰσαποστελεῖς*—and that *eis* had been by mistake put before "Ἄργος by someone who did not see that it belonged to the verb. I now think Kirchhoff's the more likely word, and that the *eis* was originally an interlinear explanation which got by mistake into the text and necessitated the expulsion of the ἐξ-). As to the -στελεῖς it is easier to believe that that was changed to -στελεῖς than that *εί* was changed to ἦν. Perhaps the hand that wrote -στελεῖς was the same that wrote the *ˆ* over the last syllable of *καταισχύνεις* in L. 516. λήσομεν PL (*αι* was added by a late hand in P who did not see or did not understand the abbreviation for *εν*). 520 and 521. I think it is so manifest that these two lines are an interpolation that it is useless to record the various emendations which they have themselves undergone or have caused to be made in the previous line. Hartung and Vitz both mark them as spurious. (I had independently come to the same conclusion. They look to me like a quotation from a comic poet who is parodying Soph. *Ant.* 1055.—*ἄχρηστον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον* like our 'good or bad'.) 522. ὅ μ' P, ὅτι μ' L (ὅτι being written by an early hand, in an erasure which possibly held two

ed out that that idea was inconsistent also with *λάθοιμι τοῦτ' ἄν*, and that *νιν* must refer to Iphigeneia.

517. οὗτοι κ.τ.λ.] Such a suggestion as this would do more, as Menelaus doubtless knew, to keep alive in Agamemnon the fear of the multitude than to allay it. It is moreover a sentiment quite in keeping with the character of the typical Spartan which Euripides gives to Menelaus. (Cf. above on *vv.* 408 ff.)

519. This cold-blooded suggestion has to some commentators seemed too shocking to be allowed to stand. It should be remembered though that it is Menelaus who makes it, and Euripides's Menelaus was '*capable de tout*'. Also as Hartung says, as somebody had to die it was

better that it should be Calchas than Iphigeneia. At *v.* 533 of the *I. T.* Iph. expresses great joy at the news of Calchas's death.

520. For this use of *σπέρμα* cp. Eur. *fr.* 1001 *ἀέ ποτ' ἐστὶ σπέρμα κηρύκων λάλον*, and *Hec.* 254: below in *v.* 524 it is used in a different sense.—For the general sense of the *v.* cf. *Hirp.* 1059, *Ion* 374 ff., *Hel.* 744 ff., *El.* 400, *Phoen.* 772, *fr.* 793.

522 f. With these two *vv.* Monk compares *I. T.* 657 f.—'two instances, among a multitude, of that studied or affected simplicity of sentiment in Euripides, which was a constant topic of censure and ridicule among his rivals and detractors'.



ME. ὃν μὴ σὺ φράξεις, πῶς ὑπολάβοιμ' ἂν λόγον;

ΑΓΑ. τὸ Σισύφειον σπέρμα πάντ' οἶδεν τάδε.

ME. οὐκ ἔστ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὃ τι σὲ καμὲ πημανεῖ. 525

ΑΓΑ. ποικίλος αἰὲ πέφυκε τοῦ τ' ὄχλου μέτα.

ME. φιλοτιμία μὲν ἐνέχεται, δεινῷ κακῷ.

\* \* \* \* \*

[ΑΓΑ. οὐκοῦν δόκει νιν στάντ' ἐν Ἀργείοις μέσοις

letters), οὔμ' Markland. εἰσ- PL, ἐσ- Wunder. 523. ὑπολαβοιμεν PL, ὑπολάβοιμ'

ἀν Markland.

524. εἶδε P (a later hand—possibly that of Musurus—has written an ο over the first ε and added a ν to the second), εἶδεν L. 526. τοῦ γ' PL, τοῦ τ' Reiske. Monk retained the γ' and Matthiae was inclined to do so. I have adopted τ' because I think that, one of the points in Menelaus' spirited and pointed expression of contempt being that they are *two* and Od. only one, Ag. here answers 'yes, but he has the multitude with him'. If the γ' is retained it would mean 'and the reason of it is that'. Bothe (who also keeps the γ') compares *Hec.* 254 ff. 527.

ἐνέχεται PL. This word (which is very prosaic and not quite apt here in its classical use) I conjecture to have been a marginal interpretation of (possibly) ἀρχεται.

vv. 528—542. Dindorf pronounces the whole of this passage an interpolation, but he has not I believe been supported in this view by any other commentators. An examination of the passage reveals the following facts: (1) οὐκοῦν δόκει involves a use of οὐκοῦν (*quamobrem*) which is by many (and I believe rightly) regarded as inadmissible for tragedy and even for Attic prose of that period. (2) *κἄτα ψεύδομαι* breaks Porson's rule about the spondee in the fifth foot. (3) The *ὅς* in the next line is loose: from its position it should properly refer to Calchas, but it evidently is meant to refer to Odysseus. (4) It should be noticed that at v. 515 Ag. assumes that he has got so far as to send Iphigeneia home, and then goes on to say what he will have to fear from Calchas afterwards, and then (at v. 522 ff.) what he has to fear from Odysseus, supposing Calchas has been got rid of. At v. 532 f. however he talks as if Iph. were still at Aulis. (This inconsistency has not, I think, been noticed before.) (5) It is outrageous to suppose that the army of Greeks (for Ἀργεῖους v. 532 need not be pressed to mean literally only Agamemnon's own people of Argos) who had assembled to avenge the wrongs of Menelaus should, when balked of their purpose, turn on him and his brother, slay them, or pursue them to Argos and then deal with it as they had hoped to deal with the city of the barbarians which they meant to attack. (6) Further suspicious words and phrases are ἡπόρημαι (ἀνθρώπος ἡπορημένος in an anonymous comic writer: Meineke 353) in 537, the weak τάδε at the end of the line after τὰ νῦν: the doubtful ὅπως ἂν after φύλαξον for ὅπως (followed in the next v. by πρὶν c. subj. *without* ἂν), the use of ἐλαχίστοις in the sense of *fewest*, and the unusual phrase σιγὴν φυλάσσετε in v. 542. (7) Lastly it must be remembered that the reference to Clytaemnestra's presence in the camp (vv. 538 ff.) is inconsistent with the view expressed above on vv. 413 ff. that Ag. knows nothing of the arrival of his wife and daughter until somewhere about v. 640. For all these reasons I decidedly

527. δεινῷ κακῷ] Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 347 B ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι τὸ φιλότιμόν τε καὶ φιλάργυρον εἶναι ὄνειδος λέγεται τε καὶ ἔστιν;

We hear a good deal about φιλοτιμία in this play.

λέξειν ἂ Κάλχας θέσφατ' ἐξηγήσατο,  
 καὶ ὡς ὑπέστην θῦμα, κᾶτα ψεύδομαι, 530  
 Ἄρτέμιδι θύσειν· ὃς ξυναρπάσας στρατὸν,  
 σὲ καὶ ἀποκτείναντας Ἀργεῖους κόρην  
 σφάζει κελεύσει. καὶ πρὸς Ἄργος ἐκφύγω,  
 ἐλθόντες αὐτοῖς τείχεσιν Κυκλωπίοις  
 ξυναρπάσουσι καὶ κατασκάψουσι γῆν. 535  
 τοιαῦτα τὰμὰ πῆματ'. ὦ τάλας ἐγώ,  
 ὡς ἠπόρημαι πρὸς θεῶν τὰ νῦν τάδε.  
 ἔν μοι φύλαξον, Μενέλεως, ἀνὰ στρατὸν  
 ἐλθών, ὅπως ἂν μὴ Κλυταμνήστρα τάδε  
 μάθῃ, πρὶν Ἄϊδῃ παῖδ' ἐμὴν προσθῶ λαβών, 540  
 ὡς ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις δακρύοις πρᾶσσω κακῶς.  
 ὑμεῖς τε σιγῇ, ὦ ξένοι, φυλάσσετε.]

ΣΤΑΣΙΜΟΝ Δ'.

ΧΟ. μάκαρες οἱ μετρίας θεοῦ

στρ.

agree with Dindorf in regarding the present passage (528—542) as an interpolation. At the same time I do not think that *v.* 527 immediately preceded the first stasimon (543 ff.), and therefore I conclude that a passage of a few lines spoken by Ag. has been lost here. I could believe that *v.* 536 formed part of this passage. It is even possible that *vv.* 528 f. (as emended by Musgrave) were also part of this passage. (See also below in Ex. Notes on *v.* 538.) 528. οὐκοῦν δόκει PL, οὔκουν δοκεῖς (as a question) Musgrave. νῦν P (with δὴ written over it by an early hand), νυν L (and so Canter who only knew the reading νῦν). 531. ὃς PL, οἷς Tyrwhitt, οὐ Musgrave, taking the sent. as a question. 534. τείχεσι PL, with ν added by a later hand in P and an early one in L.—κυκλωπείοις PL, corrected by an early hand in P to κυκλωπίοις. 535. συναρπάσουσι PL, ἀνασπάσουσι or ἀναρπάσουσι Markland. 541. χῶς ἐπ' ὀλιγίστοις Herwerden. 543. By the side in P is written *χοριαμβικά στρ. κῶλων ιε'*, and also *ἀντισπαστικά ἰωνικά χοριαμβικά*

530 f. *θύσειν*] depends on *ὑπέστην* only, and not on the parenthetical *ψεύδομαι*. For *κᾶτα ψεύδομαι* cp. Xen. *Mem.* I, 1, 5 *προαγορεύων ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ φαινόμενα κᾶτα ψευδόμενος*.

535. *γῆν*] is used here in the sense of *πόλιν* as at *Tro.* 868: cp. also on *v.* 1070 below (some emendation of *συναρπάσουσι* is necessary).

538 ff. It is not at all clear how Menelaus when he went among the Greek soldiers could prevent Clytaemnestra's hearing of her husband's plan to

sacrifice her daughter. The army knew nothing of it as yet.

541. As inadequate a consideration to conclude with as *πρᾶσσω κακῶς* is an inadequate expression for his contemplated act.

First Stasimon *vv.* 543—589. Like the two subsequent stasima (and the Parodos) it consists of a strophe, an antistrophe, and an epode, and, as in them, the metre is logaedic. (See scheme at the end of the book.) The subject of the strophe and epode is 'Love the De-

μετά τε σωφροσύνας μετέ-  
σχον λέκτρων Ἀφροδίτας,  
γαλανεῖα χρησάμενοι  
μανιάδων οἷστρων, ὅθι δὴ  
δίδυμ' Ἐρως ὁ χρυσοκόμας  
τόξ' ἐντείνεται χαρίτων,  
τὸ μὲν ἐπ' εὐαίωνι πότμῳ,  
τὸ δ' ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς.  
ἀπενέπω νιν ἀμετέρων,

545

550

ἀναπαιστικά ἱαμβικά.—Over μάκαρες in L an early hand has written εἰσιν. 545. λέκτρων PL, θέλκτρων Nauck. It is mainly on account of the support given to λέκτρων by the θαλάμων in 553 that I hesitate to adopt Nauck's very taking conjecture. 547. μαινόμεν' PL, μαινομένων Reiske, μαινολῶν Nauck, μανιάδων Wecklein. μαινομένων was possibly written as an explanation of μανιάδων: then the ων, written above this and the next word in an abbreviation, was by mistake only written once, hence μαινόμεν'.—ὅθι P, ὅθι L. 548. ὁ χρυσοκόμας ἔρως PL, a later hand in P has crossed out the ἔρως and put it in before ὁ, and in L α is written over ἔρως and β over ὁ χρ. 550. πότμῳ PL, τύχα Athenaeus (see Introduction p. xix). 552. ἀπεννέπων, corrected by an early hand to ἀπενέπω PL, only in P

stroyer'; while the antistrophe describes the temper and training necessary to counteract the baneful influence. For the general tenour cp. *Merch. of Venice* 3, 2, 111, and *Andromache* vv. 274 ff., (where the phrase σύγχυσιν βίου recalls the ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς of v. 551), and the 2nd stasimon of the *Medea* (vv. 627 ff.). Firnhaber also compares *Hipp.* 443 and 529 and Fragments 505 and 670.

544. μετά τε] The τε shows that we must not take μετρίας θεοῦ as governed by μετέσχον but by μετά. See note on 1085 f. below.

545. μετέσχον λέκτρων 'A.] 'Enter Love's bonds'. λέκτρα is used as an abstract name for *union* or *wedlock* as well as in the concrete sense of *wife* as above at v. 382. Cf. *Fr.* 505 μετρίων λέκτρων, μετρίων δὲ γάμων μετά σωφροσύνης κῆρσαι θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον, where it may be taken either way.

547. ὅθι δὴ] 'Herein', ὅθι for οὗ is found only in the lyric parts of tragedy. οὗ δὴ occurs at *I. T.* 320 in a

temporal sense. Here, like οὗ at *Soph. Phil.* 1049, and *Soph. El.* 1259, ὅθι is used of *circumstances*. Cf. our colloquial 'that's where it is'.

549. ἐντείνεται] The middle is extraordinary, but is supported by the above-mentioned quotation in Athenaeus, by *Xen. Cyr.* 4, 1, 3, where τόξα ἐντείνασθαι and ἀνατεταμένος τὴν μάχαιραν occur, by *τελνεσθαι τόξον* which is quoted from *Ap. Rhod.* 2, 1043, by the common Epic τόξα τανυσσάμενος, also by a passage in Alexander Noumenius (*Walz Rhett.* 9, 271, 16 ἔρωτα παρεῖναι τόξα μὲν ἐντεινόμενους βέλη δὲ ἐφαρμόττοντας—possibly a reference to this passage, and by *Ar. Nub.* 968.

550. ἐπὶ] c. dat. not, as Paley, of the object shot at, but of the *object* or *result* of the shooting. Vitelli cps. ἐπὶ λάβῃ at *Soph. Ant.* 792.

552. νιν] Weil and Vitelli take this to refer to (the second) τόξον, but in the face of the very scanty authority for νιν = αὐτό in tragedy (*Aesch. Cho.* 542: at

Κύπρι καλλίστα, θαλάμων.

εἴη δέ μοι μετρία μὲν

χάρις, πόθοι δ' ὅσιοι,

555

καὶ μετέχοιμι τᾶς Ἀφροδί-  
τας, πολλὰν δ' ἀποθείμαν.

διάφοροι δὲ φύσεις βροτῶν,

ἀντ.

διάφοροι δὲ τρόποι· τὸ δ' ὀρ-

θῶς ἐσθλὸν σαφὲς αἶ·

560

τροφαί θ' αἱ παιδευόμεναι

μέγα φέρουσ' εἰς τὰν ἀρετάν·

the original letters are discernible, in L they have been erased.

553. ὦ Κύπρι

P, in L the ὦ has been erased.

557. τ' PL, δ' Reiske.

559 f. διάτροποι

δὲ τρόποις· ὁ δ' ὀρθὸς PL, διάφοροι Hoepfner, τρόποι is mentioned as a var. lect. by Barnes, but he does not give its source; whoever read τρόποι must have also read the following words as τὸ δ' ὀρθῶς, as Musgrave (?) and Hermann afterwards corrected them, unless like Firnhaber he quite disregarded metrical rules. διάτροποι is manifestly a *vox nihili*. I have adopted the above mentioned corrections. ο for ω is a common mistake. It occurs (as Monk says), at v. 610 of *I. T.* in this same word in both P and L, where L has an alternative ὀρθῶς. αἶ· PL, corrected in P to αἶ.

561. παιδευόμεναι corr. (by p. m.) to παιδευόμεναι P.

562. εἰς τὰν

Soph. *Trach.* 145 νῦν is possibly corrupt, and at best refers to a person—τὸ νέαζον) it is best to refer it to Ἐρως: *i.e.* the wrong sort of Love.

555. χάρις] of the charm exerted on, πόθοι of the love felt for, another. It has been thought that a passage in Plut. *De tuend. san.* p. 132 B (πρὸς δὲ τὸν οἶνον, ὅπερ Εὐριπίδης πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, διαλεκτέον 'εἴης μοι, μέτριον δὲ πως [Matt. δέπας] εἴης, μήδ' ἀπολείπεις') refers directly to this passage. If so it is not a quotation, but an adaptation of the general sense of the poet's words to the subject of wine. Most probably, though, it is a quotation from a lost play.

556 f. The δέ in v. 557 corresponds to the μὲν in v. 554, and the emphasis thus given to the antithesis between μετρία and πολλὰν, and the position of the latter word, entitle us to supply μετρίας in sense with Ἀφροδίτας in v. 556. If we do not the μετέχοιμι τᾶς Ἀ. is very

tame.

vv. 558—567. 'One man is unlike another, in nature and also in manners, but true goodness never faileth. The nurture of the teacher also is a mighty aid to virtue: for wisdom brings modesty, and the feeling which discerns the right has an all-transforming charm. If that be present, fame crowns life with never-fading glory.'

560. It is possible that σαφὲς here means only *clearly discernible*, but I think it more likely that Euripides used it in the sense of *undoubted*—*i.e.* of *undoubted value*. It is a word full of meaning. Fix and Le Bas translate it here '*un trésor assuré*'.

vv. 561 ff. Cp. *Hec.* 600 ff. ἔχει γέ τοι τι καὶ τὸ θρεφθῆναι καλῶς διδάξιν ἐσθλοῦ· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τις εὖ μάθη, οἶδεν τό γ' αἰσχρόν, κανόνι τοῦ καλοῦ μετρών. Just before (in v. 599) τροφαί is used in the same sense as in our present passage.



τό τε γὰρ αἰδεῖσθαι σοφία,  
 πᾶν τ' ἐξαλλάσσουσαν ἔχει  
 χάριν ὑπὸ γνώμας ἐσορᾶν  
 τὸ δέον, ἔνθα δόξα φέρει  
 κλέος ἀγήρατον βιοτᾶ.  
 μέγα τι θηρεύειν ἀρετάν,  
 γυναιξὶ μὲν κατὰ Κύπριν,  
 κρυπτάν τ', ἐν ἀνδράσι δ' αὖ  
 κόσμος ἐνὼν ὁ μυριοπλη-  
 θὴς μείζω πόλιν αὔξει.

ἔμολες, ὦ Πάρις, ἦτε σύ γε

ἐπωδός

written over *εἰς* followed by two or three indistinguishable letters P, *εἰς ἀρετάν* the σ being in an erasure large enough to have held three or four letters L. Probably the *τάν* was erased to make the *v.* correspond in metre with *μαϊνόμεν' οἰστρων ὅθι δῆ*, the MSS. reading in *v.* 547. The words *μέγα φέρουσ'* *εἰς* look to me like a 'gloss'. Neither here nor at *v.* 547 do I think we have the right reading.

563. *σοφία* PL, *σοφία* Ald., corrected by Scaliger to *σοφία*.

564. *τάν τ'* PL, I read *πᾶν τ'* (Monk suggested *πάντ'*), I think every one must recognize that the article of the MS. is 'otiose' here.

566. *δόξαν* PL, *δόξα* Barnes.

567. *βιοτάν* PL, *βιοτᾶ* Markland.

569 f. *κατὰ Κύπριν | κρυπτάν, ἐν ἀνδράσι δ' αὖ* PL, in P a letter has been erased after *κρυπτάν*, and *ἐν δ' ἀνδράσιν αὖ* is corrected to *ἐν ἀνδράσι δ' αὖ*, L apparently had *ἐν ἀνδράσι δ' αὖ* at first: there is an erasure over the end of the *ἐν*, as if *δ'* had been inserted over the *v.* by a corrector and then erased. Following the indication of the erasure in P after *κρυπτάν*, I read *κρυπτάν τ'*. *κατὰ Κύπριν κρυπτάν* would certainly be used in a *bad* sense by Euripides, and it is too violent a twisting of plain words to interpret it "by *keeping free from illicit love*", see Exp. Notes.

571. *ἐνδον* PL, *ἐνών* Markland.

If this emendation is correct, we may suppose first that ο was written for ω (as was often done) and that then, with or without the influence of the mistaken *ἐν δ'* in the previous line, the δ was added.

*vv.* 573—589. I do not agree with Dindorf and Vitelli in thinking this epode spurious. It is however sadly mutilated. *ἔμολες* and *ἦτε σύ γε* in *v.* 573 most commentators agree in regarding as hopeless. I am surprised that many think *ἐπράφης* (either after *εὔτε* or *ἐνθα*, or standing as the principal verb) can have the participles *συρίζων* and *πνέων* subordinated to it. I have therefore marked a lacuna after *μόσχοις*, taking *vv.* 576 ff. as part of a description of the scene

563. Here *ἔχει* must be supplied from the following *v.*

566. *ἐνθα*] *i.e.* in the man of right feeling.

569 ff. In the case of women virtue must be sought in the relations of love, and it is a hidden—what Milton calls a 'cloistered'—virtue, whereas a man's

honour and fame is won in many ways (*μυριοπληθής*), and has a larger sphere.

571. As an analogy to *κόσμος ἐνών* Markland quotes *ὁπότεν καλοὶ ἐν ψυχῇ λόγοι ἐνόντες μηδὲν ποιῶσι πλέον* from Plato *Legg.* III. [689 B]; the verb is, in the finite moods, very common in Euripides.

βουκόλος ἀργενναῖς ἐτράφης  
Ἰδαίαις παρὰ μόςχοις,

575

\* \* \*

βάρβαρα συνρίζων, Φρυγίων  
αὐλῶν Οὐλύμπου καλάμοις  
μιμήματα πνέων,  
εὐθηλοὶ δὲ τρέφοντο βοες,  
ὅτι σε κρίσις ἔμηνε θεᾶν,  
ἅ σ' Ἑλλάδα πέμπει  
ἐλεφαντοδέτων πάροι-  
θεν θρόνων, ὅθι τᾶς Ἑλένας  
ἐν ἀντωποῖς βλεφάροισιν  
ἔρωτα τ' ἔδωκας,

580

585

ἔρωτι δ' αὐτὸς ἐπτοάθης.  
ὅθεν ἔρις ἔριν  
Ἑλλάδα σὺν δορὶ ναυσί τ' ἄγει  
εἰς πέργαμα Τροίας.

and circumstances of the appearance of the three goddesses. Several attempts have been made to re-write the beginning of the epode.

575. Ἰδαίαις PL, ? Ἰδᾶς. 577. Ὀλύμπου PL, Οὐλύμπου Heath (the musician's name is written Οὐλ. at Ar. *Eqm.* 9).

578. πλέων corrected by an early hand to πνέων and by a later (that of Musurus?) to πλέκων P, πνέων L, πνείων Dind.

580. ὅτι PL. This cannot be right as the text stands. ὅθι and ὅτε have often been proposed instead, but the belief that we have lost an important part of the sentence before *v.* 576 makes it impossible to decide what word is wanted here. ἔμηνε PL, ἔμηνε Herm.

582 f. πάροιθεν P, πάροιθε with an erasure after it L (the erasure is probably due to the fact that δόμων was first written in *v.* 582 and then erased and put in at the beginning of *v.* 583, where it is written in the margin, and [so Vitelli] in an erasure).

δόμων PL, θρόνων Herm. (a very possible copier's mistake (cp. on *v.* 1174). The sense is much improved by θρόνων, more especially if ὅθι or οἷ is adopted). ὅς PL, οἷ Musgr. Weil writes ὅθι with no comment.—I think it very possible that we have lost a line or more between *vv.* 581 and 582.

585. ἔρωτα δέδωκας PL, ἔρωτα τ' ἔδωκας Blomfield.

587. In the margin L has the following scholium: τὴν ἐριστικὴν Ἑλλάδα ὥς που καὶ πόλεμον ἔριν ἔφη τὸν ἐριστικόν. The meaning of the first part of this scholium seems to be that *Greek strife* is the same as *angry Greece* (it seems better to suppose the scholiast knew that Ἑλλάδα could be used as an adj.): the latter part is an explanation of ἔρις as used for πόλεμος.

589. ἐς Τροίας

574. ἀργενναῖς] An Epic word for which the only other reference in tragedy is in a passage of Chaeremon quoted by Ath. 608 f.

576. Φρυγίων αὐλῶν] This amounts to calling Olympus a Phrygian: he is

generally spoken of as a Mysian. Cp. Suidas *s.v.* Ὀλυμπος, though *s.v.* ξυναν-  
λιαν he says O. taught in Phrygia.

588 f. The hiatus between ἄγει and εἰς is remarkable.

[ὦ ὦ· μεγάλοι μεγάλων  
 εὐδαιμονίαι· τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως  
 ἴδεν· Ἰφιγένειαν ἀνασσαν ἐμὴν  
 τὴν Τυνδαρέου τε Κλυταιμνήστραν,

590

πέργαν PL, eis πέργ. Tr. Blomfield. vv. 590—639. I agree with Dindorf that this whole passage is spurious. It is clear however that it is not all by one hand. It falls into various sections. Vv. 590—597 might, as far as the language goes, have been written by Euripides, but as Hennig (whose analysis of the whole passage seems to me one of the best parts of his book, though I do not agree with his defence of a good deal of the iambic parts of this passage) says, it is too coarse a bit of 'irony', to be Euripidean. It is inconceivable that Euripides should make the chorus, who knew the fate prepared for Iphigeneia, talk in such fulsome language as that of vv. 594—597 of her exceptional good fortune and blessedness. But the nonsense of the rest of the anapaests (to say nothing of the metre of vv. 602—604) condemns them as the work of a "miserrimus interpolator" (cf. Hennig pp. 80—83). Of the iambs too some are much worse than others. Porson was the first to attack any part of them (*Misc. Crit.* p. 223) and he began near the end. Later commentators, from Matthiae onwards, have rejected more or less of the rest of the iambs. E.g. Nauck rejects all from 619—637, excepting vv. 633 and 634, Kirchhoff does not even except these. It is evident that Clytaemnestra and Iphigeneia make their first appearance on the stage at the beginning of the second epeisodion, but I think that the anapaests with which the chorus would naturally greet their arrival were either left unwritten by Euripides or have been accidentally lost. In the beginning of the epeisodion it seems impossible that there should not have been some words of greeting spoken by Agamemnon to his wife, even if he did not give expression to the surprise with which he saw her. Such a passage as this can hardly be supposed to have been left unwritten by the poet. Either it has been accidentally lost or has been intentionally cut out by a διασκευαστής. The reasons for this excision may have been the desire to remove inconsistencies between this passage and the passage interpolated after v. 412, and the necessity of introducing some mention of the baby Orestes, who, as we above saw reason to believe, was another interpolation. The genuine look of vv. 633 and 634 (and also, I think, of vv. 631 and 632 which should follow them) inclines me to believe in an intentional reconstruction of the passage—these two couplets being selected patches of the old material. Vv. 607 and 608 have also an Euripidean sound and may likewise have formed part of the original scene, and have been spoken to Agamemnon. All the rest of the iambs and the anapaests from v. 598 to the end may well have been the work of the same rash hand. Special imperfections will be noticed on the separate lines. v. 590. In L μεγάλοι, which was first written in the line with ὦ ὦ and then erased, is in an erasure at the beginning of a fresh line. 592. εἶδεν PL. No editions seem to have had this reading, but curiously enough Matthiae introduces εἶδεν as a correction being, like Markland, under the impression that the first syllable of Ἰφιγένεια was short. No doubt the composer of these lines was not responsible for the ἐμὴν, which was very likely put in by the same metrical "improver" who altered ἴδεν to εἶδεν, and introduced the articles in vv. 597 and 600. 593. γε PL, τε Ald.

593. Τυνδαρέου] this Epic form occurs also at *EL*. 117 and 989, both lyric passages, the latter, like the present, anapaestic. In the iambic parts of tragedy

ὥς ἐκ μεγάλων ἐβλαστήκασ'  
 ἐπὶ τ' εὐμήκεις ἤκουσι τύχας. 595  
 θεοὶ γ' οἱ κρείσσους οἷ τ' ὀλβοφόροι  
 τοῖς οὐκ εὐδαίμοσι θνατῶν.]  
 [στῶμεν, Χαλκίδος ἔκγονα θρέμματα,  
 τὴν βασιλείαν δεξώμεθ' ὄχων  
 ἄπο μὴ σφαλερῶς ἐπὶ γαῖαν, 600  
 ἀγανῶς δὲ χεροῖν μαλακῇ γνώμῃ,  
 μὴ ταρβήσῃ νεωστί μοι μολὸν  
 κλεινὸν τέκνον Ἀγαμέμνωνος,  
 μηδὲ θόρυβον μηδ' ἐκπληξιν.  
 ταῖς Ἀργεῖαις 605  
 ξεῖναι ξείναις παρέχωμεν.]

597. τῶν is inserted by an early hand in both P and L before θνατῶν.  
 599. τήνδε P (the δε is scratched through and the accent altered by an early hand),  
 τὴν (in an erasure) L. δεξώμεθα P, δεξόμεθα (the ο in an erasure and a note at the side  
 διὰ τὸ μέτρον referring expressly to the ο) L.—ὄχλων PL, ὄχων Canter. 600. τὴν  
 inserted by an early hand in P and L before γαῖαν. Heath was the first to eject  
 it on metrical grounds. 603. τὸ inserted by an early hand before κλεινὸν PL.  
 606. ξείναις with an erasure before the ν and ει written as a correction P, ξείναισι with  
 the final ι erased L. In L there is an erasure not filled up between the 1st ε and the

Eurip. uses the form Τυνδάρεως. At  
 Aesch. *Ag.* 83 (anapaests) M gives the  
 gen. Τυνδάρεω with a variant Τυνδαρέου.

595. εὐμήκεις τύχας] 'high estate'.  
 See Jebb's note on Soph. *Ant.* 393 for  
 μακρός as applied to ὄλβος and similar  
 words. In all these instances, however,  
 the noun has a far more positive meaning  
 than τύχη. Perhaps the εὐ in the εὐμή-  
 κεις gives the necessary hint of a good  
 meaning in the τύχας.

596. ὀλβοφόροι] For similar com-  
 pounds cf. *Hēr.* 750 χῶν ὀλβιόδωρος,  
*Bacch.* 419 ὀλβοδότειραν Εἰρήναν, and 572  
 (of a river) τὸν ὀλβοδόταν. The epithet  
 here gracefully implies the wealth of  
 which we are expecting to hear. They  
 must be *rich* to be *bounteous*. This  
 seems to me better than with many com-  
 mentators (e.g. Musgrave and Weil) to  
 take the -φόρος as in ἀθλοφόρος, μισθοφό-  
 ρος to indicate the recipient.

598. στῶμεν] Hartung (*Introd.* pp.

72 f.) is of opinion that the 'homo pin-  
 guissimi et hebetissimi ingenii' who fabri-  
 cated *vv.* 598—606, got *his* material out  
 of *vv.* 613 ff. Certainly no better expla-  
 nation can be given of this senseless στῶ-  
 μεν, than that it is so due to the στήτε in  
*v.* 619.

ἔκγονα θρέμματα] ἔκγονος in tragedy is  
 always a substantive (at *Hel.* 318 and  
 1647 ἐκγόνου and κόρης are in apposition).  
 This phrase and the ἐνδότω (for δότω) in  
 617, and the ὡς ἂν (for ὡς) in 618, and  
 the Νηρηΐδος in 624 reveal the *versifica-*  
*tor*.

601 ff. It is questionable whether the  
 'versificator' knew what he meant by  
 this line. It has about as much sense as  
 the next two verses have metre. In  
*v.* 604 the second syllable of θόρυβον was  
 meant by the writer to be long. In fact  
 it is marked long in P, but not by the  
 first hand: (so too the ι of νεωστί, by  
 the same hand).



## ἙΠΕΙCÓΔΙΟΝ Β'.

ΚΛ. [ὄρνιθα μὲν τόνδ' αἴσιον ποιούμεθα,  
 τὸ σόν τε χρηστὸν καὶ λόγων εὐφημίαν·  
 ἐλπίδα δ' ἔχω τιν' ὥς ἐπ' ἐσθλοῖσιν γάμοις  
 πάρειμι νυμφαγωγός. ἀλλ' ὀχημάτων  
 610 ἔξω πορεύεθ' ἃς φέρω φερνάς κόρη,  
 καὶ πέμπετ' εἰς μέλαθρον εὐλαβούμενοι.  
 σὺ δ', ὦ τέκνον μοι, λείπε πωλικούς ὄχους,  
 ἄβρὸν τιθεῖσα κῶλον ἀσθενές θ' ἄμα.  
 615 ὑμεῖς δὲ νεανίαις νιν ἀγκάλαις ἔπι  
 δέξασθε καὶ πορεύσατ' ἐξ ὀχημάτων.  
 καί μοι χερὸς τις ἐνδότην στηρίγματα,

χ of παρέχωμεν. 609. ἐσθλοῖσι P, ἐσθλοῖσιν (the ν being a subsequent addition by the first hand) L. 613. In L there is a stop (=a comma) after μοι: i.e. the writer took the phrase for a σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον. Cf. *Alc.* 313. 614. θ' ἄμα PL, χαμαί (with ἀσφαλῶς for ἀσθενές) Herm., ποδός Hennig (who takes ἄβρὸν adverbially), I think however that it is more like the 'versificator' as it stands:—the phrase ἄβρὸν τιθεῖσα κῶλον being modelled on ἄβ. πόδα τιθεῖς *Hel.* 1528, and ὠκὺν πόδα τιθεῖς *I. T.* 33, and the ἀσθενές θ' ἄμα being added to make up the verse. 615. νεανίδαισιν P, νεανίδεσσιν (the εσ being a correction of an early hand for αι) L, νεάνιδες νιν Pierson (and Markland), νεανίαις νιν Lobeck. Though L. himself subsequently rejected this, I agree with Hennig in preferring it. It is supported by *Hel.* 1262 νεανίαις ὦμοισι, and also by Phot. *Lex.* νεανίας· τολμηρούς. Though we can hardly dispense with an acc. the vocative is not absolutely

607 f. These two lines—especially the former one—are quite Euripidean, but the feebleness of the contrasted clause and the utter want of any contrast in the sense ('I take your kind words as a good omen *but* I am not without hopes that I am on a happy errand'), shows that they were not originally written in their present connexion. Indeed the peculiar position of the τε in v. 608 suggests that possibly even these two verses were themselves not originally neighbours.

610. The word νυμφαγωγός is not elsewhere found except in late Greek.

613. πωλικούς] Attention has by several commentators been called to the frequent repetition of this word in the passage. Wecklein associates with it the fact that also in the *Rhesus* this word is of frequent occurrence, as indicating a

common authorship.

615. It is extremely doubtful whether νεᾶ- in νεανίας or its derivatives was ever scanned as one syllable. At *Ar. Vespr.* 1067 and 1069 Dind. is very likely right in reading νᾶν-. It is possible that at *Eur. I. T.* 647 we ought to scan νεανία as a trisyllable, but the reading of the earlier part of that v. is doubtful. It is curious that Pierson who leaves in his correction the anapaest here, actually introduces an anapaest at *Cyclops* 28 by reading νεανίαι for the MSS. νέα νέοι.

616. πορεύσατ' ἐξ ὀχημάτων] notice the weak repetition of this weak phrase from v. 610 f.

617. στηρίγματα] another suspicious word occurring only in late Greek elsewhere.

θάκους ἀπῆνης ὡς ἂν ἐκλίπω καλῶς.

αἱ δ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν στήτε πωλικῶν ζυγῶν,

φοβερὸν γὰρ ἀπαράμυθον ὄμμα πωλικόν·

620

καὶ παῖδα τόνδε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνον

λάζυσθ', Ὀρέστην· ἔτι γάρ ἐστι νήπιος.

τέκνον, καθεύδεις πωλικῶ δαμείς ὄχῳ;

ἔγειρ' ἀδελφῆς ἐφ' ὑμέναιον εὐτυχῶς·

ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ κῆδος αὐτὸς ἐσθλὸς ὦν

625

λήψει, τὸ τῆς Νηρηΐδος ισόθεον γένος.

ἑξῆς κάθησο δεῦρὸ μου ποδός, τέκνον,

πρὸς μητέρ', Ἰφιγένεια, μακαρίαν δέ με

necessary, as the men addressed are the same as those addressed in *vv.* 610—612. 619. αἱ δ' PL, οἱ δ' Dobree, which would remove some absurdity. 623. θακεύεις corrected by a late hand to καθεύδεις P, θακεύεις L. 626. νηρηΐδος corrected to νηρηδος P, νηρηΐδος L (Milton suggested τὸ Νήρεως παιδός, Portus τὸ τῆς Νηρηΐδος.

619. αἱ δ'] It would be difficult to find another instance of the article used, as οὔτος sometimes is, as a vocative, for the pron. of the 2nd person. The idea of the writer seems to have been that as ὁ δέ sometimes=οὗτος, it could stand, like it, as a vocative.

620. In both MSS. this line is marked as a beauty (ὦρ. for ὠραῖον)! It is just possible that, as Hermann (*Opusc.*) holds, φοβ. was meant to be taken as an adverb qualifying ἀπ. Others prefer to take φοβ. in the sense of 'timid', or as 'an object of terror'. Weil supplies ὦν with ἀπαρ. If ἀπαράμυθος is to be scanned as at Aesch. *P. V.* 185 we should have an anapaest in the 3rd foot—the second in the line.

622. ἔτι κ.τ.λ.] This repetition from *v.* 466 may be taken to mark both passages as the work of the interpolator who brought the Baby on to the scene.

623. δαμείς] Weil translates 'assoupi', taking the word to be used in the sense of the Homeric μαλακῶ δεδμημένοι ὕπνω and modern phrases like 'succumbing to, overmastered by, sleep'. But for such phrases the mention of the sleep is necessary. It is more likely that the word was used only in the sense of *wearied*,

*worn out*, i.e. in the sense of the κόπῳ δαμέντες of *Rhes.* 764.

624. ἔγειρ'] for ἐγείρου: very suspicious, in spite of Porson's note on *Or.* 288 (294). Both at *Or.* 294 and 799 synizesis of the final οὐ with a following vowel seems a less violent explanation than that which Porson gives. At *Hec.* 916 ff. where Porson takes καταπαύσας as=καταπαυσάμενος modern editors read θυσίαν not θυσιᾶν, as do four MSS. out of the seven cited by Prinz. Here, I should believe in synizesis of *ou* if I thought that the passage had been written by a man who was scholar enough to be careful about the difference between active and middle. But it is doubtful whether the man who could write Νῆρηΐδος (626) and ἑξῆς μου ποδός for 'close to my feet' (in 627) would be careful to observe such a distinction.

628 ff. Certainly it is impossible to make this *v.* fit on in sense to the previous line. Hennig thinks something has been lost both before and after *v.* 628. I think πρὸς μητέρ' is a conversational repetition of the ἑξῆς μου ποδός such as the 'miserable' interpolator was quite capable of: also that he went on with δός με μακαρίαν ξέναισι ταῖσδε in the sense of

- ξέναισι ταῖσδε πλησία σταθεῖσα δός,  
καὶ δεῦρο δὴ πατέρα πρόσσειπε σὸν φίλον.] 630  
ΚΛ. ὦ σέβας ἐμοὶ μέγιστον, Ἀγαμέμνων ἀναξ, 633  
ἤκομεν, ἐφეტμαῖς οὐκ ἀπιστοῦσαι σέθεν. 634  
ΙΦ. ὦ μήτερ, ὑποδραμοῦσά σ', ὀργισθῆς δὲ μή, 631  
πρὸς στέρνα πατρὸς στέρνα τὰμὰ προσβαλῶ. 632  
[ἐγὼ δὲ βούλομαι τὰ σὰ στέρν', ὦ πάτερ, 635  
ὑποδραμοῦσα προσβαλεῖν διὰ χρόνον.  
ποθῶ γὰρ ὄμμα δὴ σόν. ὀργισθῆς δὲ μή.  
ΚΛ. ἀλλ', ᾧ τέκνον, χρή· φιλοπάτωρ δ' αἰεὶ ποτ' εἶ 640  
μάλιστα παίδων τῶδ' ὅσους ἐγὼ ἔτεκον.]

\* \* \* \* \*

- ΙΦ. ὦ πάτερ, ἐσεῖδόν σ' ἀσμένῃ πολλῶ χρόνῳ. 640  
ΑΓΑ. καὶ γὰρ πατήρ σέ· τόδ' ἔσον ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν λέγεις.

Ald. put in παιδὸς after Νηρῆδος). 631. σ' altered to γ' by an early hand in both P and L. 632. περιβαλῶ PL, προσβαλῶ Porson. 637. δὴ added above the line by a second (early) hand in both P and L. 638 f. Given by P and L to Ag., by Porson to Clytaemnestra. χρῶ corrected to χρῆ P, χρῆ L (so I conclude from Vitelli's silence), χρῶ is the Aldine reading. 639. τῶνδ' PL, τῶδ' Monk and Fix. τέκνον (corrected by a late hand to τέκον) P, τέκον L (Vitelli says nothing of the correction to τέκνον in L mentioned by Wil.-Moell.). Heath conjectured ἔτεκον

*reddo me beatam his mulieribus (in the eyes of these women).* At any rate what could be weaker than *v.* 630, with its *deûro* repeated from *v.* 627?

640. At this line we begin to breathe again. Indeed the beauty of the scene which now follows is of itself a sufficient vindication of the labour which has been expended by many generations of students in unravelling the perplexities of this mutilated and interpolated tragedy. Agamemnon's thoughts have been laid bare in the previous scenes. The distraction and despair which his answers to his daughter half reveal to us heighten the exquisite sense of the girlish innocence which cannot interpret the signs of distress and thinks of nothing but the joy of the meeting.

In the absence of any definite announcement of Agamemnon's appearance on the

stage we can only conjecture about it. Bothe thinks that at *v.* 607 Clytaemnestra is already addressing her husband. Most editors however take *v.* 630 as an indication that Ag. has just come out. See above the critical notes on *vv.* 590 ff.

πολλῶ χρόνῳ] just the same dat. as τῶ χρόνῳ in *v.* 694 (cp. Krüger II. 48, 2, 11). Klotz well compares also *Trö. 20* ὡς δεκασπόρῳ χρόνῳ ἀλόχους τε καὶ τέκν' εἰσίδωσιν ἄσμενοι.

641. καὶ γάρ] The meanings of καὶ γάρ fall into two classes according as the first or second particle takes the prominent share of significance. Here the καὶ is prominent. Cp. *e.g.* Soph. *Phil.* 1121, Xen. *Cyr.* III. 1, 11. Usually the γάρ has the greater significance.—ἔσον not an adverb here, but used predicatively with λέγεις and qualifying τόδ'.

ΙΦ. χαῖρ'. εὐ δέ μ' ἀγαγὼν πρὸς σ' ἐποίησας, πάτερ.

ΑΓΑ. οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως φῶ τοῦτο καὶ μὴ φῶ, τέκνον.

ΙΦ. ἔα.

ὥς οὐ βλέπεις εὐκηνον, ἄσμενός μ' ἰδών.

ΑΓΑ. πόλλ' ἀνδρὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ στρατηλάτῃ μέλει.

645

ΙΦ. παρ' ἐμοὶ γενοῦ νῦν, μὴ 'πὶ φροντίδας τρέπου.

ΑΓΑ. ἀλλ' εἰμὶ παρὰ σοὶ νῦν ἅπας κοῦκ ἄλλοθι.

ΙΦ. μέθες νυν ὀφρὺν ὄμμα τ' ἔκτεινον φίλον.

ΑΓΑ. ἰδοὺ γέγηθά σ' ὡς γέγηθ' ὄρων, τέκνον.

ΙΦ. καῖπειτα λείβεις δάκρυ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων σέθεν;

650

[ΑΓΑ. μακρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ 'πιούσ' ἀπουσία.

ΙΦ. οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι φήs, οὐκ οἶδα, φίλτατ' ἐμοὶ πάτερ.]

independently. 642. δ' ἐμ' altered by an early hand to δέ μ' P. *προ σ' ἐποίησας* P (a late hand accented the *o* of the *προ* and added a *s*), *πρὸς σ' ἐποίησας* L. 644. μ' εὐκηνον P, εὐκηνον L (Dobree ejected the μ' independently). Many modern edd. have followed Blomfield in writing *ἐκηνον* instead of *εὐκηνον* here. I cannot see sufficient reason for this. Both are Epic words of apparently the same meaning. Sophocles evidently preferred the former. Euripides uses the word nowhere else. In the one passage of Aeschylus in which it occurs the orig. MS. reading is *εὐκηνος*. 645. *στρατηλάτει* corrected (by a later hand in P) to *στρατηλάτῃ* PL (a merely mechanical slip, caused by the neighbouring words ending in *ει*. As the error occurs in both MSS. it must have stood in the MS. from which they were copied). 646. *παρ' ἐμοῦ* (sic) with the *παρ'* crossed through and *πρὸς* written over it by a late hand P, *παρ' ἐμοὶ* L (the *ἐμοῦ* in P was no doubt due to a similar error to that noticed in *v.* 645—due, *i.e.* to the *ου* in *γενοῦ*). *καὶ μὴ* PL, Barnes ejected the *καὶ*. 647. *εἰμι* corrected (by a late hand) to *εἰμὶ* P, *εἰμι* L. 648. *νυν* with *δη* written over it by a late hand (as an explanation) P, *νῦν* L. *ὀφρὺν* corrected to *ὀφρὺν* P, *ὀφρὺν* L. 649. *γέγηθ' ἔως γέγηθά σ' ὄρων* PL, *γέγηθά σ' ὡς γέγηθ' ὄρων* Musgrave (an excellent emendation). 651. (See on *v.* 652.) One of the Paris copies of L has *ἡ 'πιτυχοῦσ'* for *ἡ 'πιούσ'*, a good instance of the way in which an explanation (and a wrong one) gets into the text. 652. This *v.* which I have given as it occurs in the MSS. is equally inexplicable as an answer to the preceding

644. 'βλέπεω εὐκηνον est *placido vultu esse*, ut [σεμνὸν καὶ] πεφροντικὸς βλέπειν *Alc.* 773, *δριμὺν βλέπειν ap.* Aristoph.' Matthiae.

ἄσμενός μ' ἰδών] with a reference to the *ἐσεῖδόν σ' ἀσμένην* of *v.* 640 and Ag.'s answer in *v.* 641: 'for all your joy at seeing me'.

648. ἔκτεινον] cp. *Soph. fr.* 768 ὡς ἂν Διὸς μέτωπον ἐκταθῇ χαρᾷ.

φίλον] proleptic; not merely 'thy dear face': still less the weak Homeric use

for a possessive pronoun.

649. γέγηθα ὡς γέγηθα] A favourite idiom with Greek tragic writers. Its reticence always veils a sinister thought. Cf. *Med.* 1011 *ἡγγεῖλας οἱ' ἡγγεῖλας*. *I. T.* 575, *Tro.* 630, *El.* 289 and 1122, *Soph. O. T.* 1376, *O. C.* 273, and 336 (*εἰς' οὐπερ εἰσί*. *O. C.* 974 which Jebb on *v.* 273 compares is not parallel). Cp. the English 'we shall see what we shall see', where however the reticence is not generally sinister.



ΑΓΑ. *συνετὰ λέγουσα μᾶλλον εἰς οἰκτόν μ' ἄγεις.*

ΙΦ. *ἀσύνετα μὴν ἐροῦμεν, εἰ σέ γ' εὐφρανῶ.*

ΑΓΑ. *παπαῖ. τὸ σιγᾶν οὐ σθένω· σὲ δ' ἤνεσα.*

655

ΙΦ. *μέν', ὦ πάτερ, κατ' οἶκον ἐπὶ τέκνοις σέθεν.*

ΑΓΑ. *θέλω γε τὸ μένειν· οὐχ ἐκὼν ἀλγύνομαι.*

and as the ground of the following verse. Ag.'s reference to his impending absence was perfectly intelligible; a profession that what he said was unintelligible could by no possibility have called forth from her father a comment on his daughter's sense (*συνετὰ λέγουσα*). Hence no emendations which merely get rid of the two anapaests in 652 will meet the difficulty, nor will the suggestions that we have here some marginal explanation or parallel passage incorporated by mistake in the text. Weil's οὐκ οἶδά θ' ὅτι φῆς, κοῖδα φίλτατ' ὦ πάτερ may be said to furnish a riddle to which v. 653 is an answer, but it is itself inexplicable as an answer to v. 651. The course which presents far the least difficulty to my mind is to reject *both* 651 and 652. There is enough in the half playful expostulation of v. 650 to call for the father's comment and also the "δάκρυα" of 650 leads on to the οἶκτον in v. 653. I have therefore enclosed both vv. in brackets. 653. μᾶλλον μ' εἰς οἶκτον corrected by a late hand to μᾶλλον εἰς οἶκτον μ' P, μᾶλλον εἰς οἶκτον μ' L (as the -ον εἰ- and the -ον μ' are corrections in erasures, L had no doubt the same mistake originally). 654. μὲν P (corrected by a late hand to μὲν γ'), νυν L. Both Monk and Nauck (independently) suggest δῆτ'. It is possible that the δῆτ' was changed to νυν (enclitic) by some metrical corrector who thought that the ν of ἀσύνετα was long. This assumes that νυν was the earlier reading and μὲν a mistake of a copier. If μὲν was the earlier reading I should suggest μὴν, comparing Soph. O. C. 28 ἄλλ' ἔστι μὴν οἰκητός, where the MSS. have μὲν and an early corrector, as here, altered it to μὲν γ'. In that case νυν was a mistake for μὴν, the pronunciation helping.—I heartily agree with Hennig's indignant vindication of this beautiful answer from Dindorf's charge of spuriousness. A corrector of P changed εἴ σε γ' to εἰ σέ γ'. 655. παπαῖ PL. 657. θέλω γε· τὸ θέλειν δ' PL, θέλω· τὸ δὲ θέλειν (or τὸ δ' ἐθέλειν) Scaliger (so as to get rid of the γε—δὲ used like μὲν—δὲ, which Monk and Hermann also condemn), τὸ τελεῖν Markland and Nauck, τὸ θέλον δ' Campbell, θέλω· τὸ δ' ἔργον Wecklein. I do not believe in the impossibility of the γε—δὲ but I think the δὲ looks like an addition. I conjecture that Eur. wrote θέλω γε τὸ μένειν· οὐχ ἐκὼν ἀλγύνομαι and that the δ' was only added after a transcriber had

653. This verse was perhaps half an 'aside'.

654. A striking instance of the indiscriminate way in which in tragedy the two numbers were used in the first person. Cf. Trö. 904 ὡς οὐ δικαίως, ἦν θάνω, θανοῦμεθα.

655. σὲ δ' ἤνεσα] ('you're a good girl', cf. vv. 440 and 506) is addressed to Iphigeneia but all before it in this v. is an 'aside'.

656. ἐπὶ τέκνοις] 'for your children'.

I cannot find anywhere another instance of ἐπὶ used quite as it is here with the dative of a person. It does not mean only *near* or *with*, as most take it. There must be some notion of *purpose* in it. I think the instance most nearly parallel is Fr. 324 ἔρως γὰρ ἀργὸν καπὶ τοῖς ἀργοῖς ἔφν: in both cases we might translate it by our 'for'. Cp. also Ion 480 διαδέκτορα πλοῦτον ὡς ἔξοντες ἐκ πατέρων ἐτέροις ἐπὶ τέκνοις.

- ΙΦ. ὄλουντο λόγχοι καὶ τὰ Μενέλεω κακά.  
 ΑΓΑ. ἄλλους ὀλεῖ πρόσθ' ἅμ' ἐδιόλεσαντ' ἔχει.  
 ΙΦ. ὥς πολὺν ἀπῆσθα χρόνον ἐν Αὐλίδος μυχοῖς. 660  
 ΑΓΑ. καὶ νῦν γέ μ' ἴσχει δὴ τι μὴ στέλλειν στρατόν.  
 ΙΦ. ποῦ τοὺς Φρύγας λέγουσιν ῥκίσθαι, πάτερ;  
 ΑΓΑ. οὐ μήποτ' οἰκεῖν ὦφελ' ὁ Πριάμου Πάρις.  
 ΙΦ. μακρὰν ἀπαίρεις, ὦ πάτερ, λιπὼν ἐμέ;  
 ΑΓΑ. εἰς ταυτόν, ὦ <παῖ, συμφορᾶς> ἥκεις πατρί. 665

transposed the  $\chi$  and the  $\kappa$ , and that the  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  for  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\omega$  (due to the preceding  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ , cf. on *v.* 660) came later. If it be objected that the inf. after  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  would not have an article, it may be answered that it would be equally hard to find another instance of  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$  with  $\tau\acute{o}$  before the inf. If the vulgate is retained the second  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  must be supposed to have the sense given to it by the scholiast on Aristoph. *Birds* 582 and on  $\Phi$  366 (οὐδ' ἔθελε προρέειν) of  $\deltaύνασθαι$ . Cf. also N 106,  $\gamma$  120 and the scholia. 659. *πρόσθ' ἅμ'* corrected by a second hand to *πρόσθεν ἅ μ'ε* P (the abbreviated *εν* above the line is in darker ink, and the same ink has obliterated a just discernible apostrophe after the  $\theta$ ), *πρόσθεν ἅ μ'ε* L (as I have said elsewhere, I believe P to have been corrected to agree with L). This is made specially interesting by the fact that Porson arrived independently at the right reading. 660. *ἀπῆλθα* corrected by an early hand to *ἀπῆσθα* P, *ἀπῆσθα* L (the  $\lambda$  was due to the preceding  $\lambda$  in *πολὺν*). 662. *ῥκίσθαι* PL, *ῥκίσθαι* Porson. 664. *μακρὰν ἀπαίρεις* PL (between these words  $\gamma'$  is inserted by a corrector in L, Vitelli is not sure whether by an early or late one). In P there is a ; at the end of the *v.* possibly an addition of a late hand. Wilamowitz thinks that the corrector of L put in the  $\gamma'$  because he did not know that the last syllable of *μακρὰν* was long. On the whole the *v.* suits its context best as a question. 665. *εἰς ταυτόν, ὦ θυγάτηρ, ἥκεις σὺ πατρί* PL. In both MSS. a late hand has inserted *σὺ θ'* above the *v.* before *ἥκεις*, a would-be metrical correction which leaves an anapaest in the 3rd foot and offends against Porson's canon in the 5th. Porson suggested *ὦ θυγάτηρ ἥκεις καὶ σὺ γ' εἰς ταυτόν πατρί*. This emendation was made under the impression that the *σὺ θ'* (though 'mendosum'), was to be reckoned with in reconstructing the line. I would suggest *εἰς ταυτόν, ὦ παῖ, συμφορᾶς ἥκεις πατρί*. At *Or.* 374 (368 Porson), and I believe also at *I. T.* 5, some transcribers altered *παῖς* to *θυγάτηρ*, and I conjecture that this change was made here and led to the exclusion of *συμφορᾶς* or some such

658. *τὰ Μενέλεω κακά*] not as Weil '*les maux qui nous viennent de Ménélas*', but 'the wrongs of Menelaus', his *grievances*.—With this and the following *v.* Firnhaber and Vitelli well compare *Med.* 1015 f. ΠΑΙΔ. *θάρσει· κάτει τοι καὶ σὺ πρὸς τέκνων ἔτι*. ΜΕΔ. *ἄλλους κατὰξ πρόσθεν ἢ τάλαιν' ἐγώ*.

664. To this question as to the previous one Agamemnon's distracted state of mind prevents his giving a direct

answer. His mind is evidently working with horror at his daughter's impending fate, to which in his next few utterances he refers with growing clearness.

665 ff. Cf. *Tro.* 684 *εἰς ταυτόν ἥκεις συμφορᾶς*, and elsewhere *εἰς ταυτόν ἥκειν*, used as here in the sense of *to be in the same plight* with some one. That Iphigeneia takes her father's words in this sense is clear from the next line, where she at once jumps at the idea of going on

ΙΦ. φεύ·

εἴθ' ἦν καλόν μοι σοί τ' ἄγειν σύμπλουν ἐμέ.

ΑΓΑ. ἔτ' ἔστι καὶ σοὶ πλοῦς, ἵν' εὖ μνήσει πατρός.

ΙΦ. σὺν μητρὶ πλεύσας ἢ μόνη πορεύσομαι;

ΑΓΑ. μόνη μονωθείς, ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος.

ΙΦ. οὐ ποῦ μ' ἐς ἄλλα δώματ' οἰκίζεις, πάτερ;

670

ΑΓΑ. ἔασον. οὐ χρὴ τοιάδ' εἰδέναι κόρας.

ΙΦ. σπεῦδ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν μοι, θέμενος εὖ τὰ κεῖ, πάτερ.

ΑΓΑ. θύσαι με θυσίαν πρῶτα δεῖ τιν' ἐνθάδε.

word and the introduction of the unmetrical σῶ. 666. εἰ δ' corrected by a late hand to εἴθ' P, εἴθ' L. 667. αἰτεῖς τι PL (as a question in L, Vitelli), ἔτ' ἔστι Porson. In L ἔσται is written by an early hand over πλοῦς. ἵνα μνήσῃ PL, with ὑπο written over the beginning of the latter word in an early hand in L. It was

evidently interpreted as a subjunctive. All modern editors have seen that it is a fut. indic. ἵν' εὖ μνήσῃ Vitelli, who reminds us that at *vv.* 68 and 847 an initial *μν* fails to make the preceding short vowel long, and that *α* and *ευ* were very easily interchanged in mss. This whole scene has apparently suffered greatly from the indistinctness or obliteration of some MS. 669. μονωθείς corrected by a later

hand to μονωθείς P, μονωθείς L. 670. οὐ ποῦ μ' εἰς (corrected by what I think was a late hand to ἦπου μ' ἐς) P, οὐ ποῦ μ' ἐς (the *ε* in an erasure by an early hand) L. οὐ που was evidently the original reading: there are other instances of οὐ που being misunderstood and altered by transcribers: at *Hel.* 135 and (I believe) at *Or.* 426 it is altered to οὐπω. The *εἰς* is a natural blunder of an unmetrical scribe.

671. εἰ γὰρ οὐ χρὴ τοι τάδ' PL, and in P an early (?) hand has added a *τ* slightly above the other letters between the *γὰρ* and the *οὐ*. ἔασον Blomfield, who compares *Orest.* 627, *Hipp.* 521, and Aesch. *Prom.* 340. Here we have further traces of obliteration; the gap being filled by a hasty transcriber with the ubiquitous *γὰρ*. It is not clear whether the man who filled the gap still left between the *γὰρ* and the *οὐ* meant the line to run *εἰ γὰρ ἔτ' οὐ χρὴ* (in the sense of οὐπω χρὴ) or, as the earlier editions have it (senselessly enough) *εἰ γὰρ τ' οὐ χρὴ τοιάδ'* Markland.

a journey with her father. In *v.* 667 however he obscurely hints that the journey he means is that to 'The undiscovered country from whose bourn No traveller returns', and that she will bear with her a vivid memory of him though he will not accompany her. In *v.* 668 she very naturally asks, if he is not to be with her is it her mother who will take her? Apparently in her next question (*v.* 670) she is not thinking of going as a bride, only of being banished from her home. Ag.'s answer however (*v.* 671) assumes rather brutally that such a notion had been in his daughter's mind.

669. ἀπό] is strangely used here. Markland thinks we ought to put a comma before it, and take it as at *Λ* 242 ἀπὸ μνηστῆς ἀλόχου, comparing also *N* 227 ἀπ' Ἀργείος and 2nd Ep. to the Thess. 1. 9 ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου κ.τ.λ. I have adopted this punctuation, as I think the difficulty of taking μόνη μονωθείς together less than that of taking ἀπό in the sense of ὑπό.

672. θέμενος εὖ τὰ κεῖ] Cp. *Bacch.* 48 f. εἰς δ' ἄλλην χθόνα, τὰνθὲνδε θέμενος εὖ, μεταστήσω πόδα. For εὖ θέσθαι cp. Elmsley on *Med.* 896 (926).



ΙΦ. ποίοις ξὺν ἱεροῖς; εἰ τόδ' εὐσεβὲς σκοπεῖν.

ΑΓΑ. εἴσει σύ· χερνίβων γὰρ ἐστήξεις πέλας.

675

ΙΦ. στήσομεν ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βωμόν, ὦ πάτερ, χορούς.

ΑΓΑ. ζηλῶ σὲ μάλλον ἢ 'μὲ τοῦ μηδὲν φρονεῖν.

χώρει δὲ μελάθρων ἐντός· ὀφθῆναι κόραις

οὔτοι χρὴ τὰδ' Monk (and Vitelli).

674. ἀλλὰ ξὺν ἱεροῖς χρὴ τόδ' εὐσεβὲς σκοπεῖν P, L has τό γ' for τόδ', otherwise it agrees with P. Most editors adopt τό γ' and follow Musgrave in interpreting ἱεροῖς as a masc. meaning the same as ἱερεῖσι. But *Ion* 1224 (which M. quotes) is not enough to prove this use for ἱερός. Besides, as Weil says, even so *v.* 675 is no answer to our present line. Weil conjectures *ζυνοῦσας* for ξὺν ἱεροῖς. I too think the line has suffered in the same way as several others in this scene, but I start from the τόδ' of P, believing it not to be a mistake for τό γ' but part of the original line which the writer of L corrected to suit the already transformed remainder. What I believe Eur. to have written was something very near ποίοις ξὺν ἱεροῖς; εἰ τόδ' εὐσεβὲς σκοπεῖν. The ποίοις became obliterated, and either a δεῖ resulting from the εἰ got interchanged with a χρὴ from the previous *v.* (where it seems more appropriate than the δεῖ), or a χρὴ was written under the δεῖ as an explanation of it, and so got into the next *v.*

675. εἴση (with *ι* subs. added by a late hand) P, εἴση L. ἐστήξει (the *ει* corrected by a late hand to *η*), ἐστήξη L, ἐστήξει Elmsley (cf. Curtius *Gk. Vb.* p. 436 Eng. Tr., Cobet *N. L.* 264, Rutherford *Novu Phrynicus*, p. 411 f.).

676. Following a hint of Markland's, I have removed the ; which usually stands at the end of this *v.* See Expl. N. 677. ἡ με PL (altered in P, perhaps by Musurus, to ἡ 'μέ, a manifest improvement. So too Blomfield, correcting Barnes and Musgrave). 678 f. Commentators all take one of two courses with reference to these two lines. Either they attempt to make sense out of them as they stand, taking ὀφθῆναι as an infinitive of purpose after χώρει, or they follow Hermann in supposing that two half lines have dropped out after ἐντός. (He ingeniously suggests (*Opusc.*) that the lost passage was something like ὡς μετ' ἀνδράσιν | μωμητὸν οἴκων ἐκτός, and that the omission was due to the confusion by the transcriber's eye of the ἐκτός with the ἐντός.) All alike construe πικρόν with φιλημα. I think the true explanation is that ὀφθῆναι κόραις πικρόν is a parenthesis, and have put the stops accordingly. (It is worth mentioning that a late hand in P put a stop (·) after ἐντός.) I further think it not improbable that πικρόν is a mistake for

674. σκοπεῖν] used here just as we might often put *think about* instead of *ask about*. Cp. Soph. *O. T.* 286 and 291.

675. For χερνίβων πέλας and ἀμφὶ βωμόν (in *v.* 676) Farnhaber compares *El.* 792 ὡς ἀμφὶ βωμόν στῶσι χερνίβων πέλας.

676. This seems more natural as a suggestion than as a question. The light-hearted eagerness with which the daughter settles how it is all to be arranged gives rise to the father's next remark.

677. This *v.* is best taken I think, like part of *v.* 655, as an 'aside'. For the sense Monk quotes Soph. *Ajax* 552 f. and Gruppe well compares *O. T.* 316 φεῦ φεῦ φρονεῖν ὡς δεινὸν ἔνθα μὴ τέλη λύη φρονούντι.

678. ὀφθῆναι κόραις πικρόν] Cp. Pseudo-Phocylides 216 f. παρθενικὴν δὲ φύλασσε πολυκλείστοις θαλάμοισιν· μηδέ μιν ἄχρι γάμων πρὸ δόμων ὀφθῆμεν ἑάσης. Cf. *v.* 738, *El.* 343 f. *Phoen.* 89 ff. Here (if πικρόν is the right reading), the refer-



πικρόν· φίλημα δοῦσα δεξιάν τ' ἐμοί.  
 [μέλλουσα δαρὸν πατρὸς ἀποικήσειν χρόνον.] 680  
 ὦ στέρνα καὶ παρῆδες, ὦ ξανθαὶ κόμαι,  
 ὡς ἄχθος ἡμῖν ἐγένεθ' ἡ Φρυγῶν πόλις  
 Ἑλένη τε· παύω τοὺς λόγους· ταχέια γὰρ  
 νοτὶς διαίσσει μ' ὀμμάτων ψαύσαντά σου.  
 ἴθ' εἰς μέλαθρα. σὲ δὲ παραιτοῦμαι τόδε, 685  
 Λήδας γένεθλον, εἰ κατῳκτίσθην ἄγαν.  
 [μέλλων Ἀχιλλεῖ θυγατέρ' ἐκδώσειν ἐμήν.]  
 ἀποστολαὶ γὰρ μακάριαι μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως  
 δάκνουσι τοὺς τεκόντας, ὅταν ἄλλοις δόμοις  
 παῖδας παραδιδῶ πολλά μοχθήσας πατήρ. 690

αἰσχροὶν (see Expl. Notes). 679. τ' ἐμοί PL, Matthiae, followed by Monk, τέ μοι. 680. I have enclosed this *v.* and *v.* 687 in brackets as I believe them to be interpolations. They are weak, unnecessary, and of monotonously similar construction. In the former instance the motive seems to have been the explanation of the πικρόν as qualifying φίλημα. 681. παρηίδες PL (in L *σ. i.e.* συνίησις is written over the beginning of the word). -ῆ- Barnes. 682. ἡμῖν PL, ὑμῖν

Musgrave: an emendation which gives to the sentence a fascinatingly modern turn, but one which I believe even in Euripides impossible. Such apostrophizings, in Greek Tragedy, never got beyond an appeal. The impersonation does not become as complete as it does *e.g.* in Shakspeare. Cp. *e.g.* the apostrophizing in the passage of the *Medea* quoted in the Expl. Notes on *vv.* 679 ff. The εὐδαιμονοῦτον, being in the *dual* after the *four* vocatives shows that the address is really directed in form to the two boys. 684. διώκει PL. Nauck very properly calls this word suspicious. I would suggest that the original word was διαίσσει, and that ὀμμάτων was meant to be taken with ψαύσαντα: cp. ρ 39 κύσσε δέ μιν κεφαλὴν

τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλά. 685. τάδε PL. The plural seems right if we adopt the punctuation suggested by Markland—putting a comma before τάδε and taking the word with κατῳκτίσθην—but this is rather harsh. I have therefore suggested τόδε, which provides παραιτοῦμαι with a needed object of the thing as well as the person, and in this use the τόδε has its natural reference to something following, *i.e.* the εἰ κατῳκτίσθην ἄγαν. 687. See above on *v.* 680.

ence is to the feelings of girls themselves rather than to other people's ideas about them—'I know girls hate being seen'.

679 ff. Firnhaber well compares *Med.* 1070 δότ' ἀσπασασθαι μητρὶ δεξιὰν χέρα. ὦ φιλτάτη χεῖρ, φίλτατον δέ μοι κára καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον εὐγενὲς τέκνων· εὐδαιμονοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ, and further on ὦ γλυκεῖα προσβολή, ὦ μαλθακὸς χρῶς πνευμά θ' ἡδιστον τέκνων: also *Or.* 1049 f.

681. ξανθαὶ κόμαι] This colour is the common one in tragedy and even in

Homer for the hair of princely youths and maidens.

683 f. ταχέια γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] 'for a sudden flood wells up in me' (lit. 'springs through me'), 'as I' (*i.e.* 'my lips') 'touch your eyes'. See Critical Notes.

685. See above Crit. Notes on *vv.* 413 ff. At *Hec.* 890 we have another instance of a change, in the middle of the line, of the person addressed.

690. πολλά μοχθήσας] 'After all his trouble': *i.e.* in bringing her up.

ΚΛ. οὐχ ᾧδ' ἀσύνετός εἰμι, πείσεσθαι δέ με  
καυτήν δόκει τάδ', ὥστε μὴ σὲ νουθετεῖν,  
ὅταν σὺν ὑμεναίοισιν ἐξάγω κόρην·  
ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος αὐτὰ τῷ χρόνῳ συνισχανεῖ.  
τοῦνομα μὲν οὖν παιδ' οἶδ' ὅτῳ κατήνεσας,  
γένους δὲ ποίου χῶπόθεν, μαθεῖν θέλω.

695

ΑΓΑ. Αἴγινα θυγάτηρ ἐγένετ' Ἀσωποῦ πατρός.

ΚΛ. ταύτην δὲ θνητῶν ἢ θεῶν ἐξευξε τίς;

ΑΓΑ. Ζεὺς· Αἰακὸν δ' ἔφυσεν, Οἰνώνης πρόμον.

693. This line looks to me like an interpolation, but I have not ventured to enclose it in brackets.

694. *συνανίσχεται* PL, corrected by an early hand in P to *συνισχάνει*, in L to *συνανίσχεται*, *συνισχανεῖ* Heath (taking it however from *συνισχάνω*), *συνισχανεῖ* Quarterly Reviewer (Vol. III. p. 393), followed by Matthiae, Hermann and others. Porson on *Or.* 292 gives the true explanation: *i.e.* that *ισχάινω* was the Attic form of *ισχναίνω*. The *αὐτὰ* is difficult. It would be more natural as referring to the *τάδ'* in *v.* 692 if *v.* 693 were not there. If *v.* 693 be retained, I should be disposed to suggest *αὐτῷ τῷ χρόνῳ*, in which case *χρόνῳ* would be instrumental or governed by the *συν* in *συνισχανεῖ*.

696. γένους δ' ὁποίου Porson.

697. ἐγένεατ' P, ἐγένετ' L (ἐγένεατ' Ald.).

692. *σέ*] is the object, not the subject of *νουθετεῖν*. To many this may seem self-evident, but that the caution is needed is proved by the fact that Erasmus translated the words '*Ita ut nihil monitore te fuerit opus*'.

694. *νόμος*] has been thought to have here the extraordinary but not unnatural meaning of *habit, use, i.e.* the getting accustomed to something. It must be remembered, though, that such a force in *νόμος* is more restricted than in the case of the English words. The Greek word could only be applied to something which, like marriage, was an established custom already. The word means here rather 'the customariness of it'. Again, though it is a *modern* commonplace to talk of time's healing powers, *τῷ χρόνῳ* is best taken temporally, in the sense of the more common *χρόνῳ* as at Soph. *El.* 1013. In two points then Weil has strained the sense of the Greek in translating '*l'usage, ainsi que le temps adou-*

*cira ta douleur*'. Vitelli compares *Alc.* 381 *χρόνος μαλάξει σ'*, and, like Weil, takes *χρόνῳ* as governed by the *συν* in *συνισχανεῖ*.

695. Perhaps it is best to take *τοῦνομα* as the direct object of *οἶδα*, and *ὅτῳ κατήνεσας* as a relative sentence and not as an indirect question. In this way the contrast is brought out between the name (and fame) of the man himself, and his ancestry and native land. The distinction between *ὅς* and *ὅστις* is certainly not so sharp as Weil would have it. He says the construction *οἶδα τοῦνομα (ἐκείνου) ὅτῳ 'ne pourrait se justifier que s'il y avait φ et non ὅτῳ'*. On the other hand we find *ὅς*, where *ὅστις* would be more usual, as at Ar. *Ach.* 442 *οἶδ'... τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς εἰδέναι μ' ὅς εἰμ' ἐγώ*, and (perhaps) in the much discussed *οἶσθ' οἶν δ' ὀρᾶσον*.

699. *Οἰνώνη*] was the ancient name of Aegina. Cf. Schol. on B 562. Pind. *Nem.* VIII. 12.

- ΚΛ. τοῦ δ' Αἰακοῦ παῖς τίς κατέσχε δώματα; 700  
 ΑΓΑ. Πηλεὺς· ὁ Πηλεὺς δ' ἔσχε Νηρῶος Θέτιν  
 ΚΛ. θεοῦ διδόντος, ἢ βία θεῶν λαβών;  
 ΑΓΑ. Ζεὺς ἡγγύησε καὶ δίδωσ' ὁ κύριος.  
 ΚΛ. γαμεῖ δὲ ποῦ νιν; ἢ κατ' οἶδμα πόντιον;  
 ΑΓΑ. Χείρων ἔν' οἰκεῖ σεμνὰ Πηλίου βάθρα. 705  
 ΚΛ. οὐ φασι Κενταύρειον ὥκισθαι γένος;  
 ΑΓΑ. ἐνταῦθ' ἔδαισαν Πηλέως γάμους θεοί.  
 ΚΛ. Θέτις δ' ἔθρεψεν ἢ πατὴρ Ἀχιλλέα;  
 ΑΓΑ. Χείρων, ἔν' ἦθη μὴ μάθοι κακῶν βροτῶν.  
 ΚΛ. φεῦ·  
 σοφός γ' ὁ θρέψας χῶ διδούς σοφώτερος. 710  
 ΑΓΑ. τοιοῦδε παιδὸς σῆς ἀνὴρ ἔσται πόσις.  
 ΚΛ. οὐ μεμπτός. οἰκεῖ δ' ἄστν ποῖον Ἑλλάδος;  
 ΑΓΑ. Ἀπιδανὸν ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν ἐν Φθίας ὄροις.  
 ΚΛ. ἐκεῖσ' ἀπάξει σὴν ἐμήν τε παρθένον;

700. τοῦ PL, τὰ Elmsley. 701. κόρην PL, Θέτιν Geel (on *Phoen.* 1402). This I have adopted because Cly.'s two following questions imply that she had not heard of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis: yet at v. 708 she mentions Thetis by name. v. 626 in which Cly. is made to refer to Thetis occurs in a passage which has on other grounds been condemned as spurious. 702. θεοῦ PL, τίνος Elmsley. θεῶν PL, θεοῦ Markl., θεὸν Porson. 704. ἢ PL, ἢ Barnes. 705. πηλείου PL, Πηλίου Canter. 706. οἰκεῖσθαι PL, ὥκισθαι Porson. 709. μάθη PL, μάθοι Musgr. Cf. below v. 885. 710. γ' PL, θ' Monk. σοφώτερος PL, σοφωτέριος Musgr., σοφῶ τρέφειν Nauck. As to the former emendation, there is nothing in the context to suggest that Chiron was wiser than Peleus. A definite motive for sending Achilles to a Centaur to educate is stated in v. 709: he was to be secluded from the society of mankind. This is the proceeding which Clytaemnestra selects for special praise. Hence I do not agree with Nauck that σοφώτερος is 'ineptum'. 714. ἀπάξει PL, ἀπάξεις Dobree, followed by most editors. But, as the τῷ κεκτημένῳ of Ag.'s answer shows that he takes the question to refer to the bride's movements after the marriage, it seems to me that the

701. Kirchhoff found a parody of this line in the following v. of the poet Philetaerus quoted by Athenaeus XIV. p. 474 D Πηλεὺς· ὁ Πηλεὺς δ' ἐστὶν ὄνομα κεραμέως.

703. The historic present following the aorist marks that the betrothal (naturally) preceded the wedding.

709. We are reminded by this line of Swift's Houyhnhnms and Yahoos.

710. For this use of φεῦ cp. that at v.

977, also spoken by Clytaemnestra.—This v. is not, as Musgrave thought, a general statement that it is wiser of a parent to hand over his son's education to another, but a commendation of a special device for the seclusion of children, when being trained, from the possible contamination of bad men.

712. Cly. here introduces the second of the two questions broached at v. 696.

- ΑΓΑ. κείνῳ μελήσει ταῦτα, τῷ κεκτημένῳ. 715  
 ΚΛ. ἀλλ' εὐτυχοίτην. τίνι δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γαμεῖ;  
 ΑΓΑ. ὅταν σελήνης εὐτυχῆς ἔλθῃ κύκλος.  
 ΚΛ. προτέλεια δ' ἤδη παιδὸς ἔσφαξας θεᾶ;  
 ΑΓΑ. μέλλω· πὶ ταύτῃ καὶ καθέσταμεν τύχῃ.  
 ΚΛ. κᾶπείτα δαίσεις τοὺς γάμους εἰσύστερον; 720  
 ΑΓΑ. θύσας γε θύμαθ' ἀμὲ χρὴ θῦσαι θεοῖς.  
 ΚΛ. ἡμεῖς δὲ θοίνην ποῦ γυναιξὶ θήσομεν;  
 ΑΓΑ. ἐνθάδε παρ' εὐπρύμνοισιν Ἀργείων πλάταις.  
 ΚΛ. κάλως ἀν' ἀγκύρας τε; συνενέγκοι δ' ὁμῶς.  
 ΑΓΑ. οἷσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον, ὦ γύναι; πιθοῦ δέ μοι. 725

3rd person here is preferable. 715. κείνῳ PL, κείνην Herm. 716. εὐτυ-  
 χείτην PL, εὐτυχοίτην Portus. 717. εὐτυχῆς PL, ἐντελής Musgr., σελήνης  
 κύκλος however by itself meant *the full moon*. 719. μέλλω ἐπὶ P. A γ' is in-  
 serted by a late hand in P after μέλλω, and so Ald., μέλλω, 'πι L. I am not sure  
 whether the εἰ of the ἐπι, which is written above the line in P is also by a late  
 hand: I think not. Porson and Heath both rejected the γ' εἰ. 720. εἰς PL,  
 corrected by an early hand in both to ἐς. 721. ἄμ' ἐχρῆν PL. In both an  
 early hand has written περ over the line between the ἄ and the μ', ἀμὲ χρὴ (as an  
 alternative with ἄμ' ἐχρῆν) Porson, ἄ με χρεῶν Monk. The imperf., though difficult,  
 might be defended, but it may very well have arisen by the mistake of a scribe who  
 read the εἰ along with the following letters. The emphasis on the pronoun has the  
 same implication as the ἡμεῖς μὲν in v. 727, i.e. that it was the father's special  
 business. 722. θήσομεν PL, δαίσομεν Nauck. 724. καλῶς δ' ἀναγκαίως  
 τε συνενέγκαι δ' ὁμῶς P and so L except that it omits the δ', φαύλως ἀναξίως τε  
 Musgr., κακῶς Markl., who also apparently corrected the accent of συνενέγκαι, κακῶς  
 ἀναγκαίως δέ Heath, συνενέγκοι L. Dind. (cf. Rutherford, *New Phryn.* pp. 433 ff.

715. Weil thinks there is a sinister  
*double entendre* here, and that Ag. is  
 thinking of the God of the world below  
 who will soon claim the heroine for his  
 own, comparing with Hartung, *I. T.*  
 369 'Αἰδης Ἀχιλλεύς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως,  
 ὃν μοι, προτείνας πόσιν....

717. εὐτυχίῃ] Musgrave notices that  
 at Pindar *Isth.* VII. 44 the wedding of  
 Peleus and Thetis is said to have taken  
 place at the full moon—ἐν διχομηγνίδεσσιν  
 ἐσπέραις.

718. προτέλεια] Schol. on Ar. *Thesm.*  
 973 Ἦρα τελεία καὶ Ζεὺς τέλειος ἐτιμῶντο  
 ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν  
 γάμων· τέλος δὲ ὁ γάμος. διὸ καὶ προ-  
 τέλεια ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ θυσία ἢ πρὸ τῶν γάμων

γινομένη.

719. τύχῃ] Intentionally ambiguous:  
 Cly. with the μέλλω in her mind would  
 interpret it to mean *position, condition of*  
*affairs*. Ag. in saying it would think of  
 the ἔσφαξας of the question.

725. οἷσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον] This 'collo-  
 quial breach of strict grammar' is well  
 discussed by Jebb on Soph. *O. T.* 543.  
 Compare also Postgate in *Camb. Phil.*  
*Soc. Trans.* Vol. III. I, p. 50, and Ruther-  
 ford *Babrius* p. 38 f. The δέ which  
 follows in our present line does not  
 connect πιθοῦ directly with δρᾶσον, but  
 marks the last 3 words of the v. as a  
 parenthesis, and there is no need to  
 change, with Cobet, the δέ into τι.



ΚΛ. τί χρῆμα; πείθεσθαι γὰρ εἴθισμαι σέθεν.

ΑΓΑ. ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐνθάδ', οὐπὲρ ἐσθ' ὁ νυμφίος,

ΚΛ. μητρὸς τί χωρὶς δράσεθ', ἀμὲ δρᾶν χρεών;

ΑΓΑ. ἐκδώσομεν σὴν παῖδα Δαναῖδων μέτα.

ΚΛ. ἡμᾶς δὲ ποῦ χρή τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνειν;

730

ΑΓΑ. χώρει πρὸς Ἄργος παρθένους τε τημέλει.

ΚΛ. λιπούσα παῖδα; τίς δ' ἀνασχήσει φλόγα;

ΑΓΑ. ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς ὁ νυμφίοις πρόπει.

ΚΛ. οὐχ ὁ νόμος οὗτος, καὶν σὺ φαῦλ' ἡγή τάδε.

where however he ignores this passage), κάλως ἀν' ἀγκύρας τε; A. Palmer *Class. Rev.* 11. p. 262. ὁμῶς Nauck. After spending a day over the line I have come to the conclusion that Prof. Palmer's emendation provides the best way out of the difficulty, though I do not like disregarding the δ' of the Palatine MS. Perhaps we ought to insert it after κάλως.

726. In P the αι of πείθεσθαι is written by a corrector by the side of an erasure. εἴθισμαι σέθεν P. In L the αι of εἴθισμαι, which was written above the line, was erased, and ἐκ written in its place by an early hand. It looks as if a corrector of P intended to make the same alteration, but erased the wrong αι, and that the original αι was restored by another hand. Porson adopted the ἐκ writing εἴθισμαι ἔκ and quoting Soph. *El.* 409 for the construction. See Expl. Notes.

728. ἄμε PL, altered in P by a late hand (Musurus?) to ἄν με, and so Ald. Markl. corrected the accent and wrote ἀμὲ, ὦν με Reiske. It suits this animated stichomuthia much better to take τί as *what?* rather than as *why?* and ὦν certainly suits this meaning of τί best: but if we read ὦν με we sacrifice the emphasis on the pronoun which is necessary to the sense of the line. It is best therefore to give up the attraction.

731. ἄργους P, corrected to ἄργος, ἄργος L.

734. σὺ δὲ φαῦλ' ἡγή PL. Of the many corrections of the metre which have been

726. πείθεσθαι...σέθεν] πείθεσθαι occurs with the gen. 4 times in Hdt. (I. 126, V. 29 and 33, VI. 12); it is natural that the word should follow the analogy of ὑπακούειν, and not remarkable for an Ionism to be found in the dialect of tragedy, but the construction has the further support of Thuc. VII. 73, 2 καὶ πάντα μάλλον ἐλπίζεν ἂν σφῶν πείθεσθαι αὐτούς.

727. Ag. in his perplexity has at all events settled one thing: that his wife, whose unexpected arrival has so disconcerted him, must be sent away as soon as possible, but whatever encouragement he may have got from her ominous professions of subordination in v. 726 is soon dissipated. His wife is very quick to see what is implied in the ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐνθάδε,

and protests vigorously at once at being separated from her husband before the wedding is over.

729. Δαναῖδων μέτα] Ag. here introduces sideways, as it were, the same argument which he enforces explicitly in v. 735.

730. τυγχάνειν] See Rutherford *Neu Phryn.* p. 343 for other instances of the omission of the participle with τυγχάνειν. For the sense cf. *I. T.* 1046 Πυλάδης δ' ὅδ' ἡμῖν ποῦ τετάξεται χοροῦ;

731. παρθένους] Vv. 737 f. show that Ag. refers to their other daughters. Cf. v. 1164.

733. νυμφίοις] as at *Med.* 366 (ἔτ' εἰς ἀγῶνες τοῖς νεωστὶ νυμφίοις) the reference is specially to the bride.

734. Cf. *Phoen.* 344 Ἰ. ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε σοι

- ΑΓΑ. οὐ καλὸν ἐν ὄχλῳ σ' ἐξομιλῆσαι στρατοῦ. 735  
 ΚΛ. καλὸν τεκούσαν τὰμά μ' ἐκδοῦναι τέκνα.  
 ΑΓΑ. καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόνας εἶναι κόρας.  
 ΚΛ. ὀχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φρουροῦνται καλῶς.  
 ΑΓΑ. πιθοῦ. ΚΛ. μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαν Ἀργεΐαν θεάν.  
 ἐλθὼν σὺ τᾶξω πρᾶσσε, τὰν δόμοις δ' ἐγώ. 740  
 [ἂ χρὴ παρῆναι νυμφίοισι παρθένοις.]  
 ΑΓΑ. οἵμοι' μάτην ἦξ', ἐλπίδος δ' ἀπεσφάλην,  
 ἐξ ὀμμάτων δάμαρτ' ἀποστεῖλαι θέλων.

suggested, I think Musgrave's *κᾶν σὺ φαῦλ'* is the best. The *καὶ* before the *σὺ* which stands in many texts was inserted by Ald. We must suppose the *κᾶν* to have been early obliterated and the *δὲ* to have been introduced by an unmetrical scribe. *κεῖ σὺ φαῦλ'* ἡγεῖ Weil. 735. *ἐξομιλεῖσθαι* PL. Neither *ὀμιλεῖν* nor any of its compounds (*προσομιλεῖν* is the only one in common use) occur elsewhere in the middle voice: the active of *ἐξομιλεῖν* occurs at *Cycl.* 518 in the sense of *consort*. It is therefore very bold of L. and S. to follow Abresch (quoted in the 'Variorum' ed.) in taking the middle of this verb as 'to be away from one's friends'. *ἐξαμιλλᾶσθαι* Herwerden, the objections to which are that we cannot imagine the present dispute between the husband and wife to have been carried on ἐν ὄχλῳ στρατοῦ, and that the next *v.* clearly refers to the time of the wedding. I much prefer to read *ἐξομιλῆσαι*, supposing *ἐξ* to have its usual intensive force—as we might say "right in the middle" as an intensive of "in the middle". 736. *τὰμά γ'* PL, *τὰμά μ'* Markl. It is awkward (though possible) to supply the *με* from the *σε* of the preceding *v.*, and the emphasis which the *γ'* throws on the *ἐμά* is out of place. 739. Wil-Möhl. (*An. Eur.* p. 197) puts the whole of this verse in the mouth of Agamemnon. In L the original hand has written an *οὐ* over the *μὰ*, perhaps by way of explanation of what he takes to be the sense. 740. *ἐλθὼν δὲ* P, *ἐλθὼν* (sic) γὰρ L, the *γ* being by an early hand in an erasure. *ἐλθὼν σὺ* Markl. If the suggestion of Wil-Möhl. mentioned on *v.* 739 were adopted the *δὲ* of the MSS. would stand. 741. Monk was the first to recognize that this verse is an interpolation. It weakens the force of the declaration with which Cly. departs, and the use of *νυμφίοισι* as an adjective qualifying *παρθένοις* is not Greek. 742. *ἦξα* (sic) PL. In P the *α* is crossed through, and an apostrophe written over it by a late hand. 743. In P the final

πυρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς | νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις, | ὥς  
 πρέπει ματέρι μακαρίᾳ. Cf. also *Med.*  
 1027 λαμπάδας τ' ἀνασχεθεῖν.

738. Cf. above on *v.* 149.  
 739. *μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαν*] A feminine form of oath: cf. *Andr.* 934, *Hipp.* 307.

740. *ἐλθὼν*] Schiller in his translation has a note on this word. He says it contains an implied rebuke to Ag. for having left his home and his home duties. All the less, his wife hints, ought he to

interfere in what so intimately concerns the household.

'His dictis abit irata' Bothe.

742. *μάτην ἦξ'*] answers to our conversational 'it was a false move'. Dindorf well compares *Ion* 572 δ δ' ἦξας ὀρθῶς, τοῦτο καμ' ἔχει πόθος.

743. Whether this *v.* is genuine or not the disappointment expressed in the preceding *v.* was no doubt that felt at the failure to get rid of Clytaemnestra.

σοφίζομαι δὲ καπὶ τοῖσι φιλτάτοις  
 τέχνας πορίζω, πανταχῇ νικώμενος. 745  
 [ὅμως δὲ σὺν Κάλχαντι τῷ θνηπόλῳ  
 κοινῇ τὸ τῆς θεοῦ φίλον, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐκ εὐτυχές,  
 ἐξιστορήσων εἶμι, μόχθον Ἑλλάδος.]  
 χρὴ δ' ἐν δόμοισιν ἄνδρα τὸν σοφὸν τρέφειν  
 γυναικα χρηστὴν κάγαθὴν, ἣ μὴ γαμεῖν. 750

ΣΤΑΪΣΙΜΟΝ Β'.

ΧΟ. ἥξει δὴ Σιμόντα καὶ στρ.

ν of θέλων is by a late hand. We could do very well without this line. 746—748. Monk also expunges these 3 νν. They make nonsense as they stand, τὸ τῆς θεοῦ φίλον is, as M. says, very bad Greek for 'the pleasure of the goddess', and however explained μόχθον Ἑλλάδος remains intolerably harsh. Hennig would only reject ν. 748, supposing that something of the original has been lost here. Certainly the lacuna, if this is the case, begins after the words τῆς θεοῦ. On the whole though I prefer to follow Monk. 747. In L κοινῇ is crossed through. In L an early, and in P a late hand has inserted a γ' after φίλον. 748. In P the ι of ἐξιστορήσων is corrected (I think) from ε, there is a space following it in which something has been erased and the στ is by a later hand than the rest of the word. In L too there is the same space after the ι, which is itself in an erasure. Vitelli says nothing about the στ. The original word must have been an unusual one. I should guess it to have been ἐξευπορήσων (π might easily be altered to σ, which is how στ is written in P). μόχθων P, corrected by a later hand to μόχθον. 750. The second τρέφειν is evidently due to 'dittography'. Hermann writes γαμεῖν for it,

744 f. σοφίζομαι δὲ κ.τ.λ.] 'I use subtleness, I plot against those dear to me, and I am baffled at every point'.

749 f. Some commentators have thought that the emphasis is on the ἐν δόμοισιν, others that it is on the χρηστὴν κάγαθὴν. In the latter case the blame is too strong for the circumstances: in the former, the words χρηστὴν κάγαθὴν have been thought to imply equally too much praise: but perhaps they were used as formal epithets and with a slight irony.

Here Ag. quits the stage.

The second stasimon consists of strophe (751—761), antistrophe (762—772) and an epode (783 μῆτ' ἐμοὶ—800), all in logaedic verse (see scheme of metres at the end of the book). An interpolator has added νν. 773—783 (το πολυποῦσα) which

a metrical note in P describes as the second strophe to which νν. 783 (from μῆτ' ἐμοὶ)—800 is the antistrophe. Hermann also (*Orusc.*) thus arranges the passage, and has been at some pains to alter νν. 773—783 to make the correspondence complete; but most editors who accept the whole as genuine regard νν. 773—800 as the epode.—The subject of the stasimon is a forecast of the success of the expedition and the woes of the captive Trojan women, which naturally enlist the sympathies of the Chalcian women who compose the chorus. The whole structure of this choric passage is ably discussed by Hennig pp. 101 ff.

751. καὶ[ is here used to connect words in apposition: Vit. compares Θήβας καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπτάπυλον.

δίνας ἀργυροειδεῖς  
 ἄγυρις Ἑλλάνων στρατιᾶς  
 ἀνά τε ναυσὶ καὶ σὺν ὅπλοις  
 Ἴλιον εἰς τὸ Τροίας 755  
 Φοιβήμιον δάπεδον,  
 τὰν Κασάνδραν ἔν' ἀκούω  
 ῥίπτειν ξανθοὺς πλοκάμους  
 χλωροκόμῳ στεφάνῳ δάφνας  
 κοσμηθεῖσαν, ὅταν θεοῦ 760  
 μαντόσυνοι πνεύσωσ' ἀνάγκαι.

στάσονται δ' ἐπὶ περγάμων 757  
 Τροίας ἀμφί τε τείχῃ  
 [Τρῶες, ὅταν χάλκασπις Ἄρης

and nothing better has been suggested. Herwerden excludes these two lines as well.  
 754. In L a second hand has written *σὺν* over *ἀνά*. *ναυσὶν* P, *ναυσὶ* L. 755.  
 In P *εἰς* is corrected by a second hand to *ἐς*. 761. *παντόσυνοι* P (this was  
 actually adopted by some of the earliest editions), *μαντόσυνοι* L (and so Markland  
 before he knew of the MS. reading).—In L the *σ'* of *πνεύσωσ'* is in an erasure.  
 764—767. Hennig (pp. 100 ff.) argues forcibly that these 4 verses were not written  
 by Euripides but put in by a later hand to fill a gap caused by the mutilation of an  
 early MS. His grounds are mainly metrical. It is extremely rare that in logaoedic  
 verses a trochee or spondee comes between two dactyls. The only example in  
 Euripides is *Or.* 841, where it would be easy to get rid of the anomaly by reading  
*ιδῶν* for *εἰδῶν*. Aristophanes too, though he ridicules other unusual Euripidean  
 glyconics never ridicules this. Of these 4 lines *two* have this fault (764 and 765).  
 H. also takes exception to the matter. The arrival of the fleet at the mouth of the  
 Simois has been already forecast in the strophe, and the picture of the Trojans  
 (supposing Τρῶες to be the subject of *στάσονται*) manning the walls would naturally  
 be followed by a reference to the attack on the city. The three datives too (*πλάταις*,  
*εἰρεσίᾳ*, and *ὀχετοῖς*) with the one verb *πελάξῃ*, overload it, as he says. He grants  
 that the expressions of the passage are 'omnia exquisita, scilicet ex aliis poetarum  
 locis': *χάλκασπις Ἄρης* from Pind. *Isthm.* vi. 25, *Σιμωντίους ὀχετοῖς* from Eur.  
*Or.* 809, *εὐπύρροισι πλάταις* modelled on *εὐπρύμνοισι πλάταις* above v. 723.

752. Cf. *Ion* 95 τὰς Κασταλλίας ἀργυρο-  
 εἰδεῖς βαίνετε δίνας (Monk).

754 f. τε] connects the two accusa-  
 tives *Σιμόντα* and *Ἴλιον*, and *εἰς τὸ Τρ.*  
*Φ. δ.* is in apposition to the latter. For  
 the *ἀνὰ* Musgr. quotes Greg. *Cor. de dial.*  
*Dor.* XVIII. τὴν ἀνὰ, ἀντὶ τῆς σὺν λαμβά-  
 νουσιν. Cf. v. 1058 below.

756. Φοιβήμιον δάπεδον] Weil cps.

*Hel.* 1510 οὐκ ἐλθοῦσα ποτ' Ἴλιον Φοιβείους  
 ἐπὶ πύργους. Here the adj. has its mean-  
 ing illustrated by what follows. That  
 Phoebus has power on Trojan soil is  
 attested by the spirit of prophecy which  
 possesses Cassandra. The mention of this  
 prophetess of evil to her native city  
 is a subtle suggestion of the success of the  
 Greek armament,



πόντιος εὐπρόροισι πλάταις 765  
 εἰρεσία πελάζῃ  
 Σιμωνντίοις ὀχετοῖς,]  
 τὰν τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι δισσωδῶν  
 Διοσκούρων Ἑλέναν  
 ἐκ Πριάμου κομίσαι θέλων 770  
 εἰς γᾶν Ἑλλάδα δοριπόντοις  
 ἀσπίσι καὶ λόγχαις Ἀχαιῶν.

[Πέργαμον δὲ Φρυγῶν πόλιν  
 λαῖνους περὶ πύργους  
 κυκλώσας Ἄρει φονίῳ, 775  
 λαίμοτῶν κεφαλὰς  
 σπάσας, [πόλισμα Τροίας]  
 πέρσας κατ' ἄκρας πόλιν,  
 θήσει κόρας πολυκλαύστους  
 δάμαρτά τε Πριάμον. 780  
 αἱ δὲ Διὸς Ἑλένα κόρα  
 πολύκλαντος ἐσέεται  
 πόσιν προλιποῦσα.]

\* \*

765. εὐπρόροισι PL (in L the final ι has been erased). 767. Σιμωνντίοις P, Σιμωνντείοις L. 773—783. (See Expl. Notes at the beginning of the Chorus.) This interpolation is by a hand inferior to that which filled the gap in the antistrophe. The genuine epode (783—800) passes to the woes of the captive women. The interpolator thought this significant transition too rapid and prefixed a few halting lines describing the sack of the city and the taking of the captives. Even if we suppose with Hennig that the πόλισμα Τροίας in v. 777 was due to the error of a scribe who incorporated a marginal gloss on Πέργαμον in the text, there remains much to blame and nothing to praise. The detailed enumeration of events is foreign to the rapid allusive style of the whole stasimon. V. 773 reads like the first notice of a city in a geographical text-book: the words κόρα and πολύκλαντος occur twice within 4 lines: the Doric ἐσέεται occurs nowhere else in tragedy; and the idea of Helen's reluctance to leave Paris is quite foreign to Euripides' or even Homer's conception of her character. (It is possible that the interpolation was made when the antistrophe was intact and θέλων in v. 770 had a word denoting the Greek general to agree with and not Ἄρης, in which case we are not reduced to the absurd Ἄρης κυκλώσας Ἄρει φονίῳ—cf. Ἄρη φοίνιον Phoen. 1006.) Hartung was the first to proclaim this passage spurious. 774. λαῖνους with αι written over L, αι possibly, as Markl. thought, for ε i.e. λαϊνέους, or rather λαινέους. 775. In L the ει of ἄρει is corrected from ω. φονίῳ PL, corrected by a late hand in P to φοινίῳ. 776. λαίμητῶν P, λαίμοτῶν L, η corrected in P to ο by a late hand. 778. κατ' ἄκρας PL, the " being crossed through in P by a later hand. 779. In L the θήσει is a correction for something else. 782. πολύκλαντος PL, but originally

μήτ' ἐμοὶ μήτ' ἐμοῖσι τέκνων τέκνοις  
 ἐλπὶς ἄδε ποτ' ἔλθοι, 785  
 οἷαν αἱ πολύχρυσοι  
 Λυδαὶ καὶ Φρυγῶν ἄλοχοι  
 στήσουσι, παρ' ἱστοῖς  
 μυθεῦσαι τάδ' ἐς ἀλλήλας·  
 τίς ἄρα μ' εὐπλοκάμου κόμας 790  
 ῥῦμα δακρυόεν τανύσας  
 πατρίδος ὀλομένας ἀπολωτιεῖ;  
 διὰ σέ, τὰν κύκνου δολιχαύχενος γόνον,  
 εἰ δὴ φάτις ἔτυμος,  
 ὥς ἔτυχεν Λήδα 795  
 μιχθεῖσα πταμένω,

-στ- stood in L. 784. In P and L the words μήτ' ἐμοῖ form a single line: in L a metrical corrector has signified that μήτ' ἐμοῖσι ought to be added to it and a fresh *v.* to begin at τέκνων: I have not noted whether the same correction is made in P.—τέκνοις P, τέκνοισιν L. 788. στήσουσι PL, σχήσουσι Tyrwhitt. 790. εὐπλοκάμου PL, εὐπλοκάμου Dobree. 791. ῥημα PL, ῥῦμα Hermann. δακρυόεν τανύσας PL, a late hand in P put an apostrophe and breathing over the *αν*-. 792. οὔλομένας PL, ὀλομένας Monk, ὀλλυμένας Erfurdt. 793. γόνον PL, ἔκγονον Monk, γονάν Hennig. 795. ἔτυχεν PL, σ' ἔτεκε Musgrave. Dind. cf. τεκῶν for τυχῶν at O. T. 1025. Λήδα PL (in P the *α* is not written as usual, in L it is followed by : as a sign that the *v.* ought to end there, Λήδα σ' Elmsley. 796. ὄρνιθ' ἵπταμένω PL, ὄρνιθι πταμένω Markl. I think Scaliger on Catull. p. 51, Ed. 1607 (μυγεῖσ' ὄρ.), and Porson (on *Med.* 1) showed us the right road. The latter conjectured ὥς ἔτυχεν Λήδα | μιχθεῖσ' ὄρνιθι πταμένω, but what

785. ἐλπὶς] For the use of this word for the expectation of evil Markland compares *Or.* 859 and Lucian *Tyrann.* p. 694 τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν ἐλπὶς.

786. Markl. compares *Bacch.* 13 λιπὼν δὲ Λυδῶν τῶν πολυχρύσων γύας.

788. στήσουσι] ('raise', or 'rear') is an extraordinary word to govern ἐλπίδα. The nearest parallels that have been found are below *v.* 1039 ἔστασεν ἱαχὰν and στήσαι κραυγὴν *Or.* 1529, Soph. O. T. 697 μῆνιν στήσας. Perhaps the neighbourhood of ἱστοῖς, with which word στήσαι is so often joined in the phrase ἱστὸν στήσαι, made it seem more in place. It is best to put a comma after στήσουσι and to take the following words closely

with the next *v.*

789. μυθεῦσαι] Cf. *Ion* 197. For the simple μυθέω Herm. cites Photius μυθήσας· εἰπών. Those who correct the passage so as to introduce the more ordinary μυθεύω fail to see that *say* and not *narrate* is the word wanted here. For the Ionic *eu* for *ou* in tragedy cf. *Med.* 423 ὑμνεῦσαι, *Hipp.* 167 ἀύτευν, Aesch. P. V. 122 εἰσοιχνεύσιν, 645 πωλεύμεναι.

790 f. Herm. cites Aesch. *Sept.* 328 (ἀγέσθαι) ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων and Aesch. *Suiprl.* 431 ἀγομέαν ἱππηδὸν ἀμπύκων, also below *v.* 1367.

796. For πταμένω used by itself as a subs. cf. Plat. *Euthyphr.* 4 A πετόμενον τινα διώκεις.

Διὸς ὅτ' ἡλλάχθη δέμας,  
 εἴτ' ἐν δέλτοισι Πιερίσι  
 μῦθοι τὰδ' ἐς ἀνθρώπους  
 ἤνεγκαν παρὰ καιρὸν ἄλλως.

800

## ἘΠΕΙΣΟΔΙΟΝ Γ'.

ΑΧ. ποῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐνθάδ' ὁ στρατηλάτης;  
 τίς ἂν φράσειε προσπόλων τὸν Πηλέως  
 ζητοῦντά νιν παῖδ' ἐν πύλαις Ἀχιλλέα;

I believe to have happened is that Eur. wrote ὡς ἔτυχεν Λήδα | μυχθεῖσα παμμένω, and that ὄρνιθι, which was originally put in as an explanation of παμμένω, ousted μυχθεῖσα. The ὅτε marks the time spoken of as that of Zeus's appearing to Leda, not that of the birth of her children: hence ἔτεκε would be out of place here. Monk proposed to insert πλαθεῖς before ὄρνιθι. 797. ἀλλάχθη PL, ἡλλάχθη Monk. 798. δέλτοις PL, δέλτοις Monk. 802. τῶν PL, corrected in both to τὸν. 803. In P the λλ of Ἀχιλλέα are in an erasure: perhaps a single λ was what

798. ἐν δέλτοις Πιερίσι] *i.e.* 'in the writings of the poets'.

800. ἄλλως] For ἄλλως in the sense of *to no purpose, falsely* cf. *Hel.* 614 f. φήμας δ' ἡ τάλαινα Τυνδαρίς ἄλλως κακὰς ἤκουσεν. At *Hel.* 21 the heroine, after relating this story as to her parentage, expresses the same doubt in the words εἰ σαφὴς οὗτος λόγος.

THIRD EPEISODION, *vv.* 801—1036. The intervention of Achilles. Admirable stage-craft is shown, both in the preparation furnished by the conversation in the last episode for the appearance of Achilles, and also in the subordinate incidents, and the main features and motives of his intervention. The second scene (*vv.* 819—854) is exquisitely amusing.

In the first scene (801—818) Achilles appears before the door of the general's dwelling and calls for some one to summon him forth. This is one of the transparent devices of the Greek stage for securing that the events of the drama should take place where the spectators could see and hear them. It must not be supposed that the regular Greek way of seeking an interview with a superior, or even an equal or an inferior, was to

stand before his door and shout for a servant to fetch his master into the street.

After doing this he proceeds to speak his mind—to the chorus, or to the spectators (*vv.* 804—818), and explain the purpose of his visit. There are many difficulties in this short monologue. The gist of it I take to be this: 'I do not come as the spokesman of the whole army: our circumstances are too different (*i.e.* 'though all may be impatient'—for this is implied—'the grounds of their impatience are various'): each man must speak for himself. My position is this: I have left my father's house to sit here idle;—idle, because it does not suit the Atridae to move: my men rebel at this inactivity, and clamour either to be led on or else to be led home'.

801. τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐνθάδ'] Monk says this is for τῶν ἐνθάδε Ἀχαιῶν but Dobree is doubtless right in taking it as at *Ar. Ran.* 432...Πλούτων' ὅπου νῦν ἔσθ' οἰκεῖ and as the ἐνταῦθα at *Soph. Phil.* 16 σκοπεῖν θ' ὅπου σ' ἐνταῦθα δίστομος πέτρα: *i.e.* as half superfluous with ποῦ: cf. also *Soph. O. C.* 1256 f. δν ξένης ἐπὶ χθονὸς σὺν σφῶν ἐφεύρηκ' ἐνθάδ', where the ἐνθάδε is somewhat superfluous.

οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ μένομεν Εὐρίπου πέλας.  
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν ὄντες ἄζυγες γάμων  
[οἴκους ἐρήμους ἐκλιπόντες ἐνθάδε]  
θάσσουσιν ἀκτάς, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες εὐνίδας  
καὶ παῖδας· οὕτω δεινὸς ἐμπέπτωκ' ἔρως  
τῆσδε στρατείας 'Ελλάδ' οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν.

805

was first written. 804. Εὐρίπου P (it is curious that the same mistake was made by L at v. 813).—πύλας PL, πέλας Barnes: no doubt the scribe, who made several mistakes just about here, was misled by catching sight of the πύλαις in the preceding v. Vv. 804—818. Hermann treats v. 804 as a question, connecting it with οὕτω δεινὸς κ.τ.λ. in v. 808: “quanta cupiditate bellandi flagret Graecia...eo quod par est utrorumque studium, cognoscitur”. Hennig pp. 113 ff. rejects vv. 805—809 on the ground that if they are retained the whole passage has no logical connexion. I do not think he is right (see Explanatory Notes for a summary of the speech) except in what he says about the ἐρήμους in v. 806. Certainly it is just those who were *not* married who would be least likely to be oppressed with the thought of the *unprotected* state of their homes (the word means more than simply *empty*). I would suggest that v. 806 has got out of place, and that the passage originally ran

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν <ἐσμὲν> ἄζυγες γάμων  
<γόνων τ'> ἄπαιδες, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες εὐνίδας,  
οἴκους ἐρήμους ἐκλιπόντες ἐνθάδε  
θάσσουσιν· οὕτω δεινὸς ἐμπέπτωκ' ἔρως  
κ.τ.λ.

The *όντες* in v. 805 was perhaps due to the *-οντες* in *ἔχοντες* or in *ἐκλιπόντες*, and the *ἐπ' ἀκτάς* or *ἐπ' ἀκταῖς* supplied from *Hec.* v. 36. This reconstruction however involves so many assumptions, that I have not ventured to print it in the text, but have contented myself with inclosing v. 806 in brackets to signify that at all events it will not do where it is. Dindorf follows a writer in the *Classical Museum* vol. II. p. 106 (? Conington) in rejecting vv. 810—818. This writer remarks that the interpolator is fond of speeches within speeches (cf. vv. 430 ff. and 463 f.). 806. In P *ἐρήμους* was first written *ἐρίμους*. 807. *θάσσουσ' ἐπ' ἀκτάς* PL, *ἐπ' ἀκταῖς* Markl. (cf. *Hec.* 36), *θάσσουσιν ἀκτάς* Hartung. 808. *ἄπαιδες* PL, *καὶ παῖδας* Musgrave (cf. above the note on the whole passage). 809. *στρατείας* corrected from *στρατίας* P. 'Ελλάδι γ' οὐκ PL<sup>2</sup>, 'Ελλάδ' οὐκ L<sup>1</sup> (probably, for *ι γ'* is in an erasure), Scaliger and Porson, the latter taking it as a dative. Porson's authority

804. γὰρ] As Hennig says, this γὰρ is proleptic. It gives the grounds for what is said in v. 810, where μὲν οὖν resumes after the digression.

808. If the order of verses be kept as in the MSS. (see Crit. Notes) we must, I think, adopt Musgrave's καὶ παῖδας. I share some of Vitelli's distrust of the

emendation, but I cannot go with him in thinking that ἄπαιδες must have meant (taken with θάσσουσιν) 'senza procreare figliuoli'.

οὕτω δεινὸς κ.τ.λ.] A natural comment on such a sacrifice as that mentioned in the preceding statement, implying almost a condemnation of the expedition.



τοῦμὸν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον ἐμὲ λέγειν χρέος·  
 ἄλλος δ' ὁ χρήζων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράσει.  
 γῆν γὰρ λιπὼν Φάρσαλον ἠδὲ Πηλεά

810

· · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·

μένω 'πὶ λεπταῖς ταισίδ' Εὐρίπου ῥοαῖς,  
 Μυρμιδόνας ἴσχων· οὐ δ' αἰὲ προσκείμενοι  
 λέγουσ'· Ἀχιλλεῦ, τί μένομεν; ποῖον χρόνον  
 ἔτ' ἐκμετρήσαι χρὴ τὸν Ἰλίου στόλον;  
 ὅρα τί δράσεις, ἢ ἅπαγ' οἴκαδε στρατόν,

815

is great, but surely it is better with Elmsley (*Quart. Rev.* 1819) to take it as acc.: he cites Soph. *O. C.* 942 where ἐμπέσοι governs αὐτοῦς, and where it should be noticed that the subject (ξῆλος) is also a feeling. On *Med.* 93 however Elmsley rejects Ἑλλάδ' and reads οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν τινός, leaving ἐμπέπτωκ' without an object. 810. χρεών

PL, χρέος Hennig (τοῦμὸν δίκαιον is a little strange, but still quite good Greek for *my rights*, or *my claim*, but such a meaning is out of place here. Hennig's emendation seems to me altogether to restore its equilibrium to the line: as he says, the θεῶν in *v.* 809 may have influenced the change to χρεών). 811. αὐτοῦ P, αὐτοῦ Victorius.

812. φαρσάλιον corrected to φάρσαλον P, φαρσάλιον L, Φάρσαλιν Musgrave.—In P a gap of three lines ruled each with red ink follows this *v.*, occurring at the bottom of the first column. There is no gap in L. 813. ταῖσδ' γ' PL, ταισίδ' Blomfield

and Dobree, εὐρίππου corrected to εὐρίπου L.—πνοαῖς PL, ῥοαῖς Markland, who quotes from Strabo *I. p.* 104 the words of Ion of Chios λεπτὸς Εὐρίπου κλύδων. At Soph. *Ant.* 1238 the MSS. are divided between ῥοήν and πνοήν. There too it is the last word in the line. 814. οἱ μ' PL, οἱ δ' Monk. 815. ποῖον PL, πόσον Monk.

(I have not ventured to adopt this because I think ποῖον may have been used for πόσον in an *indignant* question. The πόσον would merely ask for information's sake what the length of the time would be.) 816. πρὸς Ἰλίου (with *ον* written above *ου* by an early hand) PL. Ἰλίου is retained by most edd. and is probably the right reading: but how is πρὸς to be taken? not with Ἰλίου, for that

would be *from Ilium*: ἐκμετρήσαι πρὸς cannot mean to *spend upon*: Weil takes πρὸς (with Ἰλίου) in the sense of *until*—'until we start for Troy':—but besides giving πρὸς a very unusual sense it does the same to στόλος: the στόλος had begun already. As I see no way of interpreting the text as it stands I have ventured to print a conjecture of my own: ἔτ' ἐκμετρήσαι χρὴ τὸν Ἰλίου στόλον. πρὸς Ἰλιον was, I think, written over Ἰλιου as an explanation of the genitive: hence the πρὸς, which ousted the τὸν, and the Ἰλιον. 817. δρᾶ γ' εἴ τι P (it is doubtful whether the γ' is by the first hand), δρᾶ εἴ τι L, δρᾶ δ' εἴ τι Fix, ὅρα

τί F. W. Schmidt. ἢ ἅπαγ' PL (with the ᾠ crossed through by a late hand

810. Cf. *v.* 1188 below ἀλλ' ἐμὲ δίκαιον ἀγαθὸν εὐχέσθαι τί σοι.

Schol. on *Phoen.* 1689.

812. For the Epic ἠδὲ cf. *Hec.* 323,

816. τὸν Ἰλίου στόλον] For the gen. cf. *I. T.* 1066 γῆς πατρώας νόστος.

τὰ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν μὴ μένων μελλήματα.

- ΚΛ. ὦ παῖ θεᾶς Νηρήδος, ἔνδοθεν λόγων  
τῶν σῶν ἀκούσας' ἐξέβην πρὸ δωμαίων. 820
- ΑΧ. ὦ πότνι' αἰδώς, τήνδε τίνα λεύσσω ποτὲ  
γυναῖκα, μορφὴν εὐπρεπὴ κεκτημένην;
- ΚΛ. οὐ θαῦμά σ' ἡμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, οἷς μὴ πάρος  
προσῆκες· αἰνῶ δ' ὅτι σέβεις τὸ σωφρονεῖν.
- ΑΧ. τίς εἶ; τί δ' ἦλθες Δαναῖδων εἰς σύλλογον, 825  
γυνὴ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀσπίσιν πεφραγμένους;
- ΚΛ. Λήδας μέν εἰμι παῖς, Κλυταιμνήστρα δέ μοι  
ὄνομα, πόσις δὲ μούστιν Ἀγαμέμνων ἀναξ.
- ΑΧ. καλῶς ἔλεξας ἐν βραχεὶ τὰ καίρια.  
αἰσχροὺν δέ μοι γυναιξὶ συμβάλλειν λόγους. 830

in P). 818. μελλήματα PL (altered in P by a late hand—Musurus?—to μελήματα). 819. Νηρήδος PL, corrected in P, by a late hand, to Νηρήδος, in L to Νηρήδος. 823. οὖς PL, οἷς Nauck. 824. προσέβης ἄν· αἰνῶ P, with the ἄν crossed through: over προσέβης is written γρ. (i.e. γράφε, or ? γράφεται) κατεῖδες in the hand, I think, which wrote the last 27 lines of the *Danae* fragment which follows this tragedy in P. προσέβης· αἰνῶ L, with ἄν written above the line over the end of the former word. (Several editions—misled, I expect, by the Paris copies of L—erroneously state that the προσέβης ἄν stands for the σέβεις.) προσῆκες Nauck. 825. τίς δ' εἶ PL, τίς εἶ Monk: it would be hard to find two questions close together each introduced by δέ. 826. The ν in ἀσπίσιν was by a second hand in L. 828. μοι ὅστιν PL, μούστιν Matthiae. 829. ἐν is in an erasure

818. This concluding line shows that the speaker has come to charge Agamemnon with the delay. Markland compares Aesch. *c. Ctes.* 72 οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα.

819. Sc. 2.

821. ὦ πότνι' αἰδώς. An almost comically outspoken expression of surprise. 'In the name of Modesty, whom have we here?' The same expression occurs in a fragment of the Ἰππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος 439 Nauck.

823. μὴ] The same generalizing μὴ as at v. 834, but it is slightly more remarkable here, as the relative with which it is joined has its antecedent expressed (ἡμᾶς).

824. προσῆκες] Cf. *I. T.* 550 μῶν

προσῆκέ σοι; *Suppl.* 472 (a corrupt passage however) προσήκοντ' οὐδὲν Ἀργείων πόλει.

σέβεις] So *Heracl.* 6 τὸ συγγενὲς σέβων: the active is constantly used by Aesch. and Eur. in the sense of *hold in honour, show respect to*.

826. ἀσπ. πεφρ.] Cf. below v. 1387, and P 268 φραχθέντες σάκεσιν. For the idea of the whole v. cf. above v. 735.

830. In mitigation of the brusqueness, not to say discourtesy, of these words, we may imagine that Achilles, full of his business as he is, fancies, notwithstanding v. 820, that Cly. has been sent out by Ag. to confer with the visitor in his (Ag.'s) place. In L the v. is marked as a γνώμη. With these words Achilles

- ΚΛ. μέινον· τί φεύγεις; δεξιάν τ' ἐμῇ χειρὶ  
σύναψον, ἀρχὴν μακαρίων νυμφευμάτων.
- ΑΧ. τί φῆς; ἐγὼ σοι δεξιάν; αἰδοίμεθ' ἂν  
'Αγαμέμνον', εἰ ψαύοιμεν ὧν μὴ μοι θέμις.
- ΚΛ. θέμις μάλιστα, τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπεὶ γαμεῖς 935  
παῖδ', ὧ θεᾶς παῖ ποντίας Νηρηίδος.
- ΑΧ. ποίους γάμους φῆς; ἀφασία μ' ἔχει, γύναι,  
εἰ μὴ τι παρανοοῦσα καινουργεῖς λόγον.
- ΚΛ. πᾶσιν τόδ' ἐμπέφυκεν, αἰδεῖσθαι φίλους  
καινοὺς ὁρῶσι καὶ γάμου μεμνημένοις. 840
- ΑΧ. οὐπώποτ' ἐμνήστευσα παῖδα σὴν, γύναι,  
οὐδ' ἐξ Ἀτρειδῶν ἡλθέ μοι λόγος γάμων.
- ΚΛ. τί δῆτ' ἂν εἶη; σὺ πάλιν αὖ λόγους ἐμοὺς  
θαύμαζ'· ἐμοὶ γὰρ θαύματ' ἐστὶ τὰ παρὰ σοῦ.
- ΑΧ. εἴκαζε· κοινόν ἐστιν εἰκάζειν τόδε· 845

in P. 831. δεινόν τι P (I think), δεινόν· τι L, μέινον· τί Valckenaer.—γ' ἐμῇ PL, τ' ἐμῇ Markl., δ' ἐμῇ Matthiae. 832. μακαρίων PL, μακαρίων Markl. 833. αἰδοίμεθ' P, αἰδοίμεθ' L. 834. ψαύοιμεν ἂν ὦν PL (in P the ἂν has been almost obliterated). 835. γαμοῖς PL (I have noted in P no trace of the late correction to γαμεῖς mentioned by Wil.-Möll.). No printed edition has, I think, perpetuated the mistake of the MSS. 836. νηρηίδος P, νηρηίδος corrected by an early hand to νηρηίδος L. 837. ἔφησθ' PL, φῆς Barnes: the ἔφησθ' was probably written over the original φῆς as an explanation. Firnh. cps. *Hel.* 471 πῶς φῆς; τιν' εἶπας μῦθον, and almost the same words at *Phoen.* 915. 839. In L the ν in πᾶσιν is added by another hand. 844. τὰ παρὰ σοῦ PL, τὰπὸ σοῦ Dobree:

turns hurriedly to depart, most probably not, as at *v.* 854, into the building, but back to his tent, *i.e.* by the right-hand side entrance to the stage.

833. Achilles may well have been surprised, as he knew nothing of Iphigeneia's presence in the army. He could only suppose that Clytaemnestra was making love to him.

834 f. Firnhaber and Vitelli compare *Electr.* 223 ἀπελθε, μὴ ψαῦ' ὧν σε μὴ ψαύειν χρεών: to which words of Electra Orestes answers οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτου θίγοιμ' ἂν ἐνδικώτερον. γαμεῖς is more probably the present than the future.

μοι] Vitelli refers to O. Schneider on Isocr. *Panegy.* § 14 for a collection of instances of this indiscriminate use of the

sing. and plur. of the first person, and gives many himself from Eur.

837. ἀφασία μ' ἔχει] Firnh. cps. *H. F.* 515 ἀφασία δὲ καμ' ἔχει and *Hel.* 549 ἐκπληξιν ἡμῖν ἀφασίαν τε προστίθης.

844. θαύμαζ'] A strong expression for δεῖ σε θαυμάζειν: 'you may well wonder'. For the (rare) tribrach in the 5th foot cf. below *vv.* 1247 and 1415. Nauck (*Stud. Eur.* 2. 64) by reading ἀμ- for ἀνα- in compounds gets rid of a great many instances.

845—852. Achilles' native politeness now gains the upper hand, but Clytaemnestra, when she realizes the state of affairs, is naturally so overpowered with shame that she cannot accept the way out of her confusion which the blunt

ἄμφω γὰρ οὐ ψευδόμεθα τοῖς λόγοις ἴσως.

ΚΛ. ἀλλ' ἢ πέπονθα δεινά; μνηστεύω γάμους  
οὐκ ὄντας, ὥς εἴξασιν· αἰδοῦμαι τάδε.

ΑΧ. ἴσως ἐκερτόμησε καὶ σέ τις.

ἀλλ' ἀμελία δὸς αὐτὰ καὶ φαύλως φέρε. 850

ΚΛ. χαῖρ'· οὐ γὰρ ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν σ' ἔτ' εἰσορῶ,  
ψευδῆς γενομένη καὶ παθοῦς ἀνάξια.

ΑΧ. καὶ σοὶ τόδ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ· πόσιν δὲ σὸν  
στείχω ματεύσων τῶνδε δωμάτων ἔσω.

ΠΡ. ὦ ξέν', Αἰακοῦ γένεθλον, μείνον, ὦ σέ τοι λέγω, 855  
τὸν θεᾶς γεγῶτα παῖδα, καὶ σέ τὴν Λήδας κόρην.

ΑΧ. τίς ὁ καλῶν πύλας παροίξας; ὥς τεταρβηκὸς καλεῖ.

ΠΡ. δοῦλος, οὐχ ἀβρύνομαι τῷδ'· ἡ τύχη γὰρ οὐκ ἐᾷ.

cf. below v. 1214. 847. ἡ PL, ἡ Barnes: Heath first put the ;. 848. In L *εἰόκασιν* is written over *εἴξασιν*. 850. *ἀμελία* PL: in P an early hand wrote over it *Ἰωνικῶς διὰ τὸ μέτρον*, and a late hand has changed *ει* into *ι*. 851. *ὄμμασιν ἔτ'* PL: a late hand in P σ' *ἔτ'*. 853. Matthiae first accented the *σοί*. 855. In both P and L this speaker is called *Θεράπων* all through this scene. Markland was apparently the first of modern editors to see that he is the same as the *Πρεσβύτης* who has appeared before (cf. for proof v. 891). *ὥς σέ* PL, *ὦ σέ* Markl. (who cps. Ar. *Av.* 275). 857. *τεταρβηκῶς* PL. This I have altered to *τεταρβηκὸς* (adv., cp. *Alc.* 773), as I think it better suits the *ὥς* which here is *exclamatory*. 858. In P a letter has been erased before the β of

soldier suggests: she only feels that 'she can never look him in the face again'. At 846 Ach. tells her he does not imagine she has invented the story, but she will not accept this; she is *ψευδῆς γενομένη*, she has said what is not true: like Malvolio she 'has been most notoriously abused'—*παθοῦς ἀνάξια*.—*κοινόν ἐστιν* means 'it is open to us both'. Cp. Elmsley on *Heracl.* 426 for *ἀλλ' ἢ*; and Porson on *Hec.* 958 (972—a probably spurious passage) for *ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν*.

849. *ἐκερτόμησε*] So used by Soph. *Phil.* 1235. Photius gives *κερτομῶν· χλευάζων, ἐρεθίζων, σκώπτων*.

853. *τῶδ'*] *i.e.* *χαῖρε* (Matthiae and Monk).—Ach., in pursuance of his original object, makes for the central door of the *σκηνή*, and is disappearing through it, as the old henchman half opens the left-hand or tritagonist's door, and calls to

him to stop. Cly. was also departing (*καί σε* 856); possibly by the right-hand door.

855. Sc. 3. A metrical note on the margin of P says: *τροχαϊκοῖς, ὅτι μετὰ σπουδῆς ὁ θεράπων ἀφίκετο*. The metre corresponds to the exciting nature of the old man's communication.

857. *παροίξας*] The old man is afraid to show himself until he has ascertained that neither Ag. nor Menelaus is in sight.

858. *οὐχ ἀβρύνομαι τῷδ'*] "Non quoad hoc delicatum ago" Heath: 'I do not show pride in this matter': *i.e.* I am not ashamed to confess it: *οὐχ ἀβ.* *τῶδ'* (see Crit. N.) could, I think, only mean 'I am not proud of this'. Bothe quotes Bekker *Anecd.* p. 322 *ἀβρύνεται· θρύπτεται, καυχᾶται*. Cp. the use of *σεμνύνομαι* at v. 901.



- ΑΧ. *τίνος; ἐμὸς μὲν οὐχί· χωρὶς τὰμὰ καὶγαμέμνονος.*  
 ΠΡ. *τῆσδε τῶν πάροιθεν οἴκων, Τυνδάρεω δόντος πατρός.* 860  
 ΑΧ. *ἔσταμεν· φράζ', εἴ τι χρήξεις, ὦν μ' ἐπέσχεες εἵνεκα.*  
 ΠΡ. *ἣ μόνω παρόντε δῆτα ταῖσδ' ἐφέστατον πύλαις;*  
 ΑΧ. *ὥς μόνοιιν λέγοις ἄν, ἔξω δ' ἐλθὲ βασιλείων δόμων.*  
 ΠΡ. *ὦ τύχη πρόνοιά θ' ἡμή, σώσαθ' οὖς ἐγὼ θέλω.*  
 ΑΧ. *ὁ λόγος εἰς μέλλοντ' ἂν \*ῶση χρόνον· ἔχει δ' ὄγκον τινά.* 865  
 ΚΛ. *δεξιᾶς ἕκατι μὴ μέλλ', εἴ τί μοι χρήξεις λέγειν.*  
 ΠΡ. *οἴσθα δῆτά μ' ὅστις ὦν σοὶ καὶ τέκνοις εὖνους ἔφυν.*  
 ΚΛ. *οἰδά σ' ὄντ' ἐγὼ παλαιῶν δωμάτων ἐμῶν λάτριν.*  
 ΠΡ. *χῶτι μ' ἐν ταῖς σαῖσι φερναῖς ἔλαβεν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ.*

*ἀβρόννομαι.*—In L an *ὁ* is written by an early hand over the *ῶ* of *τῶδ'*, i.e. it suggests a variant *τῶδ'*. *τᾶδ'* Dobree.—*γάρ μ' οὐκ* PL, *γὰρ οὐκ* Elmsley, and so, acc. to Monk, one of the Paris copies of L. 860. *τῶνδε τῶν* P, *τῆσδε τῆς* L, *τῆσδε, τῶν* Herm., which seems to me to give a better sense and to explain the variation of the mss.: we might perhaps omit the comma and make one gen. dependent on the other. 861. *ἔσταμεν* P. 862. *πάροιθεν* PL, *παρόντε* Dobree and Lenting, a good instance of the way in which a similar word in a neighbouring *v.* caught a scribe's eye.—*παῖσδ'* with the *σ* crossed through P, *ταῖσδ'* L: a curious instance of a merely mechanical error: its consequence was that Ald. (and the other early editions) read *μόνω* and *παῖδ'*, Canter (1571) (*μόνω* and) *παῖς δ'*, but it is hard to see what either of them understood by the words. Erasmus in 1519 translates the *v.* 'Num fores ad hasce soli vos duo consistitis?' What edition did he use? 863. In both P and L this verse is given to Achilles. 864. *σώσας* P (not *σώσας*' as Wil.-Möll., the abbreviation ✓ is not I think used in P except for a final *as*, and the mark which looks like an apostrophe has come through from the other side of the page, which is very thin here), corrected by a late hand to *σῶσον*. *σώσας* L (acc. to Vitelli), *σῶσαθ'* Kirchhoff. (It is possible that *σῶσον* was the original reading and that the *as* was due to a suggested *ās* for *oūs* and that this *as* ousted the final *ον*, which may have been written in an abbreviation above the line.) 865. *ἂν ῶση* PL, *ἀνοίσει* Markl., *μέλλοντα* *λεύσει* Reiske. Countless other corrections have been proposed. I think the case is hopeless. The general sense of the line I take to be 'I see we shall have to wait some time for the speech (he has so much to say by way of preface): but the man seems to have something important to say'. As a less violent correction than many I would propose *εἰς μέλλοντα* *νεύσει* *χρόνον*, lit. 'will fall in the future'. 866. *μέλ'* P, *μέλ'* the first hand of L, but an early hand has written a second *λ* above the line. 867. *δῆθ'* *ὅστις* corrected to *δῆτα γ'* *ὅστις* PL, *δῆτα μ'* *ὅστις* Porson. *ὄν* corrected by early hand to *ὦν* P. 868. *παλαιῶν* PL; all editions have *παλαιόν*, but I think the mss. are right, *παλαιῶν* *δωμάτων* being the same as *τῶν πάροιθεν οἴκων* in *v.* 860. 869. *χῶτι* *με* *ταῖς* *σαῖς* P (*δῆ* put in above the line by

859. i.e. 'You can have no business with me': a hasty attempt to get rid of the old man.

866. *δεξιᾶς ἕκατι* cannot mean *πρός* (σε) *δεξιᾶς*, as some take it: rather it is

'do not wait for a pledge', i.e. you surely need have no hesitation in speaking to me.

869. Cf. *a* 276—278 for an instance of the bride's father giving a dowry with

- ΚΛ. ἦλθες εἰς Ἄργος μεθ' ἡμῶν κάμους ἦσθ' αἰεί ποτε. 870  
 ΠΡ. ὦδ' ἔχει. καὶ σοὶ μὲν εὐνους εἰμί, σῶ δ' ἦσσον πόσει.  
 ΚΛ. ἐκκάλυπτε νῦν ποθ' ἡμῖν οὔστινας στέγεις λόγους.  
 ΠΡ. παῖδα σὴν πατὴρ ὁ φύσας αὐτόχειρ μέλλει κτανεῖν.  
 ΚΛ. πῶς; ἀπέπτυσ', ὦ γεραῖέ, μῦθον· οὐ γὰρ εὖ φρονεῖς.  
 ΠΡ. φασγάνῳ λευκὴν φονεύων τῆς ταλαιπώρου δέρην. 875  
 ΚΛ. ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ· μεμνηνὼς ἄρα τυγχάνει πόσις;  
 ΠΡ. ἀρτίφρων, πλὴν εἰς σὲ καὶ σὴν παῖδα· τοῦτο δ' οὐ φρονεῖ.  
 ΚΛ. ἐκ τίνος λόγου; τίς αὐτὸν οὐπάγων ἀλαστόρων;  
 ΠΡ. θέσφαθ', ὥς γέ φησι Κάλχας, ἵνα πορευῆται στρατός.  
 ΚΛ. ποῖ; τάλαιν' ἐγώ, τάλαινα δ' ἦν πατὴρ μέλλει κτανεῖν. 880  
 ΠΡ. Δαρδάνου πρὸς δῶμαθ', Ἑλένην Μενέλεως ὅπως λάβῃ.  
 ΚΛ. εἰς ἄρ' Ἴφιγένειαν Ἑλένης νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος;  
 ΠΡ. πάντ' ἔχεις· Ἀρτέμιδι θύσειν παῖδα σὴν μέλλει πατήρ.  
 ΚΛ. ὁ δὲ γάμον τιν' εἶχε πρόφασιν, ὅς μ' ἐκόμισεν ἐκ δόμων.

an early hand before με, σαῖς in an erasure). χ' ὥτι μ' ἐν ταῖς σαῖσι L (all but χ' ὥ- being in an erasure). 870. ἐς PL (corrected to εἰς in L by an early hand).— καὶ ἐμοὶ P, καὶ ἐμός L (corrected to κάμους by an early hand). 872. δὴ is written over νυν in L (as an explanation).—λέγεις PL, στέγεις F. W. Schmidt (a certain emendation). 873. κτανεῖν PL, so too at νν. 880 and 1131. κτενεῖν Elmsley: cp. Rutherford, *New Phryn.* pp. 420 ff., Herwerden on *Ion* 665, and Porson on *Or.* 929. Probably in all infinitives with μέλλω the nature of the action of the verb in the inf. had something to do with the tense. 876. ἄρα PL. 881. λάβοι PL (corrected to λάβῃ by a late hand in P—for the common error see νν. 709 and 885). 884. ὁ δὲ γάμος τιν' εἶχε πρόφασιν ἢ μ' ἐκόμισ' ἐκ δόμων; PL. An early (and unskilful) metrical corrector in P inserted a τὴν before πρόφασιν. Markland and Heath really mended the metre by reading ἐκόμισεν. παρεῖχε (for τιν' εἶχε) Gomperz: Weil reads τιν' and discards the ; (certainly the next ν. could in

her. Generally in Homer it is the bridegroom who gives the bride's father a gift in return for the bride.

871. Cf. *Andr.* 59 where the Θεράπων says to Andromache εὐνους δὲ καὶ σοὶ ζῶντί τ' ἦν τῷ σῶ πόσει (Firmhaber). *Ion* 811 f. καὶ σὸν οὐ στυγῶν πόσιν λέγω, σὲ μέντοι μᾶλλον ἢ κείνον φιλῶν.

877. Monk cps. *Or.* 540 ἐγώ δὲ ἅλλα μακάριος πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ, πλὴν εἰς θυγατέρας· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ εὐδαιμονῶν.

879. This ν. answers the questions of the preceding ν. in inverse order.

882. εἰς ἄρ' Ἱ...πεπρωμένος] Though πεπρωμένος εἰς here does not correspond

word for word to the English *fatal to*, there is not much difference in the meaning of the expressions. In the Greek the preposition carries most of the sinister meaning—the notion of hurtfulness, hostility—hence its prominent position.

884. γάμον τιν'] The τιν' expresses contempt or scorn, not, of course, for the pretended bridegroom, but for the hollowness and nonentity of the marriage. The scorn is all the more natural from one who had herself been duped.

ὅς] For a similar ὅς, gaining some emphasis by being separated from its antecedent, cf. below ν. 895.

- ΠΡ. ἵνα γ' ἄγοις χαίρουσ' Ἀχιλλεῖ παῖδα νυμφεύουσα σὴν. 885  
 ΚΛ. ὦ θύγατερ, ἥκεις ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ καὶ σὺ καὶ μήτηρ σέθεν.  
 ΠΡ. οἶκτρά πάσχετον δὺ' οὔσαι· δεινὰ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων ἔτλη.  
 ΚΛ. οἴχομαι τάλαινα, δακρύων νάματ' οὐκέτι στέγω.  
 ΠΡ. εἴπερ ἀλγεινὸν τὸ τέκνων στερόμενον, δακρυρροεῖ.  
 ΚΛ. σὺ δὲ τὰδ', ὦ γέρον, πόθεν φῆς εἰδέναι πεπυσμένους; 890  
 ΠΡ. δέλτον ὥχόμην φέρων σοι πρὸς τὰ πρὶν γεγραμμένα.  
 ΚΛ. οὐκ ἐὼν ἢ ξυγκελεύων παῖδ' ἄγειν θανουμένην;  
 ΠΡ. μὴ μὲν οὖν ἄγειν· φρονῶν γὰρ ἔτυχε σὸς πόσις τότ' εὖ.  
 ΚΛ. κᾶτα πῶς φέρων γε δέλτον οὐκ ἐμοὶ δίδως λαβεῖν;  
 ΠΡ. Μενέλεως ἀφείλεθ' ἡμᾶς, ὃς κακῶν τῶνδ' αἴτιος. 895

no way be an answer to the question *τίνα πρόφασιν εἶχε*;). But there still remain these difficulties: (1) that after such an expression as *furnished a pretext* a past indicative tense is out of place, and (2) that Cly. should be made to represent the pretended wedding as a trick to entice *her* from home. Ag. at *vv.* 731, 735 and 737 had told her plainly that her presence was not wanted; but even if he had not, she knew that it was preeminently her daughter who was wanted. Therefore I would read γάμον for γάμος—so far following Hennig's γάμον τόνδ',—and adopt Monk's *ὅς* for ἦ. The meaning will then be: 'So he made a wedding his pretext and this wedding has fetched me from my home'. (Along with several other alternatives I have considered γάμον τόνδ' (Hennig), and *νν* ἐκόμισ' for some time, but finally rejected them.) 885. ἵν' ἀγάγῃς PL, ἵν' ἀγάγοις Blomfield (cf. above *v.* 709), ἵνα γ' ἄγοις Vitelli: the γ' seems necessary if we discard the interrogative *τίν'* in the previous *v.* 886. In L the *ω* of ὀλέθρῳ is in an erasure, and something has been erased over the *θρ.*—καὶ σὴ P, σὴ L, καὶ σὺ Ald. 888. δακρύων τ' ὄμματ' P (δακρύον L<sup>2</sup>, the -ον being in an erasure).—στέγω P (corrected by a late hand to στέγει. στέγει L<sup>2</sup> (the -ει being in an erasure). δακρύων νάματ' οὐκέτι στέγω O. Hense (*Philologus* 27. 3). The early editions read δακρύοντ' ὄμματ'. (Cf. *Phoen.* 370.) 889. στερομένην δακρυρροεῖν PL, στερόμενον, δακρυρροεῖ Weil (τὸ στερόμενον 'l'état de celui qui est privé'). Bothe had already read τὸ στερόμενον. 890. πεπυσμένα (with the *α* corrected to *ον*) P, πεπυσμένος L<sup>2</sup> (the -ος being in an erasure). 895. τῶν stood before κακῶν

885. 'In χαίρουσα a good omen for the sacrifice is implied, the cheerfulness resulting from a belief in the coming marriage' Paley.

889. The old man says, in effect, 'Let your tears flow: you have good cause for weeping'. For this use of the neut. part. cp. *Herac.* 214 where τὸ προσήκον is used for 'the question of relationship', *Hipp.* 248 τὸ μαινόμενον = τὸ μαινεσθαι, also *Or.* 250, *Hec.* 299, Campbell on *Soph. O. C.* 1220, Jebb

on *O. C.* 267, who quotes several Thucydidean analogies.

891. πρὸς] 'about', *not* 'in addition to' as Erasmus (*praeter*).

895. ἀφείλεθ' ἡμᾶς] This verb is used with only the acc. of the person robbed also at *Bacch.* 496 αὐτὸς μ' ἀφαιροῦ (τὸν θύρσον) (Firn.).

ὅς κ.τ.λ.] For a different order of these words see *Med.* 332 (so Porson would read them here).



- ΚΛ. ὦ τέκνον Νηρῆδος, ὦ παῖ Πηλέως, κλύεις τάδε;  
 ΑΧ. ἔκλινον οὔσαν ἀθλίαν σε, τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐ φαύλως φέρω.  
 ΚΛ. παῖδά μου κατακτενοῦσι σοῖς δολώσαντες γάμοις.  
 [ΑΧ. μέφομαι καὶ γὰρ πόσει σῶ, κοῦχ ἀπλῶς οὕτω φέρω.  
 ΚΛ.] οὐκ ἐπαιδευθὲς οἶμαι οὐδ' προσπεσεῖν τὸ σὸν γόνυ, 900  
 θνητὸς ἐκ θεᾶς γεγῶτα· τί γὰρ ἐγὼ σεμνύνομαι;  
 ἐπὶ τίνι σπουδαστέον μοι μᾶλλον ἢ τέκνου πέρι;  
 ἀλλ' ἄμυνον, ὦ θεᾶς παῖ, τῇ τ' ἐμῇ δυσπραξίᾳ  
 τῇ τε λεχθείσῃ δάμαρτι σῇ, μάτην μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως.  
 σοὶ καταστέψας· ἐγὼ νιν ἦγον ὡς γαμουμένην, 905  
 νῦν δ' ἐπὶ σφαγὰς κομίζω· σοὶ δ' ὄνειδος ἕζεται,  
 ὅστις οὐκ ἤμυνας· εἰ γὰρ μὴ γάμοισιν ἐξύγης,  
 ἀλλ' ἐκλήθης γοῦν ταλαίνης παρθένου φίλος πόσις.

in both P and L, but is crossed through in both. 896. νηρῆδος (with the ἦ thus) P, who generally writes -ῆ- or at most -ῆ-. 897. A late hand in P inserted a γε before σε (above the line): both P and L have the σε. 899. Hennig is doubtless right in ascribing this verse, with its intolerably weak repetition of the close of 897 and its 'frigid' beginning, to an interpolator. 900. When this v. stood immediately after v. 898 it doubtless contained some particle connecting it thereto. The man who could so tamper with a MS. as to introduce v. 899 would make nothing of getting rid of this particle. ἐπαιδευθῆσομαι γε PL, ἐπαιδευθῆ-σόμεσθα Herm., ἐπαιδευθῆσόμεσθ' οὐν Hennig (which I have adopted as a possible restoration of the connexion). Paley rejects v. 900—902 as spurious. 901. γεγῶτα has os written over the α by an early hand in L (Elms. cps. Aesch. P. V. 144, Soph. Ant. 1001). 902. ἐπὶ τίνος PL, ἢ τίνος Porson, ἐπὶ τίνι Herm., περὶ τίνος Schaefer. Against Porson's emendation (as against Wecklein's καὶ τίνος) Hermann's objection is valid, that the two questions are not independent: the second is either a repetition of or a reason for the first. Hermann's reading seems to me the right one. The mistake mentioned below may have been the cause of the substitution of τίνος for τίνι.—μοι σπουδαστέον μᾶλλον with another μοι put in above the line over the beginning of μᾶλλον P. The same mistake and correction occur in L. (I expect the correction was first made in L and transferred from it to P.) 904. Blomfield was the first to put a full stop at the end of this v.

896. With these words Cly. turns from the Πρεσβύτερος to Achilles: the τάδε refers to the whole of the old man's story, not merely to his last words.

901. σεμνύνομαι] used much as ἀβρύνομαι is above at v. 858.

902. This is one of the Euripidean lines which touch hearts of all times. For σπουδάξιν ἐπὶ τινι cf. Xen. Mem. 1. 3. 11 σπουδάξιν δὲ ἀναγκασθῆναι ἐφ' οἷς

οὐδ' ἂν μαινόμενος σπουδάσειεν;

907. ὅστις οὐκ ἤμυνας] "ferre opem qui sis gravatus" Erasmus.

εἰ] although: with καὶ it is common in this sense, not without. Here the ἀλλὰ makes its meaning clear. Cf. Hyperides ap. Stob. 124 εἰ δὲ γήρως θνητοῦ μὴ μετέσχον, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον εὐλήφασιν, and Soph. O. C. 661 and 974.



πρὸς γενειάδος σε, πρὸς σῆς δεξιᾶς, πρὸς μητέρος·  
 ὄνομα γὰρ τὸ σὸν μ' ἀπώλεσ', ᾧ σ' ἀμναθεῖν χρεών. 910  
 οὐκ ἔχω βωμόν καταφυγεῖν ἄλλον ἢ τὸ σὸν γόνυ,  
 οὐδὲ φίλος οὐδεὶς γελᾷ μοι· τὰ δ' Ἀγαμέμνονος κλύεις  
 ὦμὰ καὶ πάντολμ' ἀφύγμαι δ', ὥσπερ εἰσορᾶς, γυνή  
 ναυτικὸν στράτευμ' ἄναρχον [καπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς θρασύ,  
 χρήσιμον δ', ὅταν θέλωσιν]. ἦν δὲ τολμήσῃς σύ μου 915  
 χεῖρ' ὑπερτεῖναι, σεσώσμεθ'· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ σεσώσμεθα.

and only a comma at σῆ. 909. γενειάδος, πρὸς PL, γενειάδος σε πρὸς Markland, γενειάδος δὲ Hense.—πρὸς γε μητέρος P, πρὸς μητέρος L<sup>1</sup> (and so Markland), πρὸς τε μητέρος L<sup>2</sup>. Markland would also read σε for σῆς. 910. ἀμναθεῖν PL, ἀμναθεῖν Elmsley (on *Med.* 186), and so first Kirchhoff among editors. 911. ἄλλον PL (the *ον* in P was written as *ο* above the *ν*. and has been partially obliterated by accident or design). (Paley quotes *Suppl.* 267 ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν θῆρ μὲν πέτραν, δοῦλος δὲ βωμούς θεῶν, suggesting καταφυγὴν here: I think it more likely that we ought to read καταφυγεῖν there.) 912. The way in which all editors (except Vitelli and Paley—Bothe, though he does not adopt, praises Markland's emendation) accept Markland's πέλας (or πελᾶ) for the mss. γέλα seems to me shocking. (In the passage from the *Alcestis* which M. cites there is in the πέλας no idea of *being near to aid*: it goes on ὅστις ἂν εἴποι.) γελᾷ is confirmed by the contrasted ὦμὰ in the following *ν*. 914 f. καπὶ...θέλωσιν. It seems to me almost certain that these words were an interpolation, made perhaps out of deference to the susceptibilities of the seafaring audience of the Peiraeus. The ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς θρασύ, if good Greek—as it may have been, though we can hardly be sure that it was,—is unnecessary. It is quite enough for Cly.'s purpose to describe a force of men on a voyage away from their country as under less strict discipline than at home. The main objection however lies against the excessively weak qualification of praise that follows, which is out of place, and disturbs the course of the thought. The more

910. ὄνομα γὰρ τὸ σὸν] It should be observed that this comes just after πρὸς μητέρος. So at *I. T.* 663 Orestes expresses surprise that Iph. should have known Ἀχιλλέως ὄνομα, when Iph. had not mentioned the word Ἀχιλλεύς, but only called him παῖς Θέτιδος τῆς Νηρηΐδος. This was his ὄνομα. ὀνομάζω in Homer often means 'give a man his proper style or title', *i.e.* his *patronymic* (K 68 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἔκαστον). In the case of Achilles it was his mother who gave him distinction, and 'son of the Nereid Thetis' is said to be his ὄνομα. (I think it was from failing to see this that Hennig doubted the genuineness of the *ν*.) ᾧ instrumental, I

think; not the object of ἀμναθεῖν as most take it.—With χρεών supply ἐστὶ not ἦν. Cly. means Ach. must now use all the prestige of his parentage in the defence of her daughter.

912 f. οὐδὲ φίλος οὐδεὶς γελᾷ μοι κ.τ.λ.] 'Not a single friendly smile to greet me! My husband, a bloodthirsty, unbridled villain!' Monk remarks that πάντολμ' here may well be a reminiscence of the παντότολμον at Aesch. *Ag.* 221. Perhaps γελᾷ here means literally *looks bright* as in the Epic passages where it is used of inanimate things.

916. Monk cites *Andr.* 242 and 254 for two other instances of μή and οὐ forming a crasis although a comma intervenes.

ΧΟ. δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν καὶ φέρει φίλτρον μέγα,  
πᾶσιν τε κοινόν ἐσθ' ὑπερκάμνειν τέκνων.

ΑΧ. ὑψηλόφρων μοι θυμὸς αἵρεται πρόσω·  
[ἐπίσταται δὲ τοῖς κακοῖσι τ' ἀσχαλᾶν

920

lengthened tirade against ναυτικὴ ἀταξία or ἀναρχία at *Hec.* 606—608 perhaps suggested the amplification of this passage. (Schiller admires greatly the χρήσιμον δ', ὅταν θέλωσω, attributing it to a sudden consciousness that it would not do so to describe the force in speaking to one of its leaders. Others have seen in it a suggestion that Ach., if he 'takes them the right way', may find the sailors' help useful in Iphigeneia's defence.) 917. φέρειν PL (corrected by a late hand in P to φέρει). 918. πᾶσι P (corrected by a late hand to πᾶσω), πᾶσω L (just the reverse as to the two MSS. at 839).—ῶσθ' PL, ἐσθ' Reiske (this emendation lightens the construction, and gives the words the conventional 'Choric' turn). 919. ὑψηλόφρων PL (corrected to -η- by an early hand in L—a likely mistake from the analogy of the numerous compounds in ὑψι-).—In P either εἴρεται has been corrected into αἵρεται, or αἵρεται changed to αἰείρεται.—πρόσω PL, πτερῶ Wecklein (πρόσω certainly looks suspicious; it may well have been put in by some ignorant late scribe who thought πρόσω, as it meant 'far' in some connexions, might also mean 'high'). 920—927. On the subject of the much discussed question of the authenticity of passages of this speech I submit the following conclusions: (1) *v.* 920 was never written to follow *v.* 919. Not only does ὑψ. θυμὸς make a bad subject for ἐπίσταται κ.τ.λ., but αἵρεται refers to a present state of feeling, ἐπίσταται κ.τ.λ. to a general characteristic: and where is the contrast implied in the δέ between 919 and 920 f.? If then what follows 919 is genuine, we must have lost some lines between 919 and 920, and 920 f. must be a description of a character which, however admirable, is *not* that of Achilles. But the longer I have considered *vv.* 920—927 the more inevitably does the passage resolve itself, to my mind, into an ill-joined patchwork of 4 *detached couplets*. They are all good enough to have come from some genuine ancient author (920 f. seem to have been modelled on Archilochus fr. 66 Bergk—first cited here by Musgrave), but there is no knowing how they came here. Hennig holds that the genuine *vv.* were 919, 924 and 926 f., and that there was no lacuna. But apart from the μὲν οὖν, which is more natural in a resumption after a somewhat lengthy digression, or a turning from the general to the particular, the sense of 926 f. is *not* merely 'I am a plain blunt man':—this ignores the prominent εὐσεβεστάτον:—it is: 'the result of my godly schooling is that I hate deceit' (cf. the never to be forgotten utterance of the same speaker at I 312 f.), and this does not square well either with 924 or 928 ff. The connexion of ideas would be 'It is true that to be lowly-minded saves trouble and pain, but I hate deceit, and will never (so far belie my nature as to) obey an unjust command'. The notion of deceitfulness acting as a possible curb on pride, suggested by such words as these, seems to me unreal. It is venom not pride that grows in a deceitful heart. It is just conceivable that 928 was written to follow directly upon 919, but I think it more likely that a passage has been lost here, and therefore mark a lacuna. Perhaps the author, after writing the first verse, as the key-note of the speech, himself left a gap which he did not live to fill up. 920. In ἀσχαλᾶν the λ is by a late hand in an erasure.

919. αἵρεται πρόσω] Cp. Soph. reading these words must mean 'is O. T. 914. If πρόσω is the right borne far onwards'. Somewhat similar

μετρίως τε χαίρειν τοῖσιν ἐξωγκωμένοις.  
 λελογισμένοι γάρ οἱ τοιοῖδ' εἰσὶν βροτῶν  
 ὀρθῶς διαζῆν τὸν βίον γνώμης μέτα.  
 ἔστιν μὲν οὖν ἔν' ἥδ' ὃν μὴ λίαν φρονεῖν,  
 ἔστιν δὲ χῶπου χρήσιμον γνώμην ἔχειν.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐν ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβεστάτου τραφεῖς  
 Χείρωνος, ἔμαθον τοὺς τρόπους ἀπλοῦς ἔχειν.]

925

\* \* \* \* \*  
 καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδαις, ἣν μὲν ἡγῶνται καλῶς,  
 πεισόμεθ'· ὅταν δὲ μὴ καλῶς, οὐ πείσομαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἐνθάδ' ἐν Τροίᾳ τ' ἐλευθέραν φύσιν  
 παρέχων, Ἀρη τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ κοσμήσω δορί.  
 [σὲ δ', ὦ παθοῦσα σχέτλια πρὸς τῶν φιλάτων,

930

922 and 923 are ascribed to the Chorus by the MSS. All editors have followed Burges in giving them to Achilles. Wilamowitz thinks some scribe mistook a marginal χρ. (i.e. χρήσιμον) for χορ.—Over τοι- is written κοιν. (i.e. κοινή συλλαβή) in P.—εἰσὶ P,—the ρο in βροτῶν in L is a correction from something. 925. ἔστι corrected by an early hand to ἔστιν L.—χ' ὥπου L. 929. οὐ πείσομεθα P, οὐ πείσομαι (with the αι by an early hand in an erasure) L (so also Scaliger corrected P's reading later). 931. ἀρει with η written over the ει (by the original hand in L and possibly in P) PL (in P the η is crossed through).—τῷ PL, τὸ Brodaeus. 932. σχέτλια παθοῦσα PL, παθοῦσα σχέτλια Barnes. 932—934. Conington (*Class. Mus.* II. 106) condemns 932—943 as spurious. He points out that after the fashion of the interpolator he gets his material from the neighbouring verses: ἀ δὴ κατ' ἀνδ. κ.τ.λ. from τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ in 931, περιβαλὼν καταστελῶ (whatever he meant by it) from κοσμήσω, παρέξω τοῦμόν δέμας from ἐλευθέραν φύσιν παρέχων and τοῦνομα κ.τ.λ. (938 f.) from 947. As to the last instance we shall find that it is the later verse which in this case is spurious, so that the argument serves only to establish 938 the more securely, and in the last but one the resemblance is very slight. The first three lines however are in themselves so weak that they succumb to the attack. 932 comes from Aesch. *Eum.* 100, and both the general sense and the language of 933 f. condemn them at once. Why should a young man be deemed naturally

uses of the passive of αἰρω may be found at *Hipp.* 735 and *Bacch.* 748. Firnhaber for this use of πρόσω compares Soph. *Trach.* 547 ἔρπουσαν πρόσω and *Hel.* 326 τί βλέπεις πρόσω;

921. τὰ ἐξωγκωμένα] lit. *fulness*, i.e. prosperity.

922. λελογισμένοι εἰσὶν] lit. 'have laid their plans': not very different in effect from our 'have the sense to'.

924. φρονεῖν] The following v. shows that φρονεῖν here means not 'to be proud', but 'to be sensible'. The exact

correspondence of Horace's 'dulce est desipere in loco' suggests that this like v. 920 came originally from a lyric poet. Seneca *de Tranqu. an.* 15 says: *Si Graeco poetae credimus aliquando et insanire iucundum est.* Stiblinus cps. Soph. *Ai.* 554 ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἥδιστος βίος.

930 f. The participial clause—ἐλευθέραν φύσιν παρέχων—contains the most important part of the declaration: 'while I do my best as a soldier I will keep myself a free man still'.

- ἃ δὴ κατ' ἄνδρα γίγνεται νεανίαν,  
 τοσοῦτον οἶκτον περιβαλὼν καταστελῶ,]  
 κοῦποτε κόρη σὴ πρὸς πατρός σφαγήσεται, 935  
 ἐμὴ φατισθεῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἐμπλέκειν πλοκάς  
 ἐγὼ παρέξω σῶ πόσει τοῦμόν δέμας.  
 τοῦνομα γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ σίδηρον ἤρατο,  
 τοῦμόν φονεύσει παῖδα σὴν. τὸ δ' αἴτιον  
 πόσις σός· ἀγνὸν δ' οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ σῶμ' ἐμόν, 940  
 εἰ δι' ἐμ' ὀλεῖται διὰ τε τοὺς ἐμούς γάμους  
 ἢ δεινὰ τλᾶσα κοῦκ ἀνεκτὰ παρθένος.  
 [θανμαστὰ δ' ὡς ἀνάξι' ἡτιμασμένη.]  
 ἐγὼ κάκιστος ἦν ἄρ' Ἀργείων ἀνὴρ,  
 ἐγὼ τὸ μηδέν, Μενέλεως δ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν· 945  
 [ὡς οὐχὶ Πηλέως, ἀλλ' ἀλάστορος γεγώς,

poor in pity? (τοσοῦτον must be correlative to ἃ δὴ): and what, with or without περιβαλὼν, can καταστελῶ mean? At most καταστελῶ σε is *I will set you to rights*, not *I will right you*. Perhaps by περιβαλὼν καταστελῶ was meant *I will wrap you round in, will enfold you in*. (Hesych. καταστέλλω· περικαλύπτω.) *vv.* 935 ff. seem to me to follow admirably after 931 (though it is possible we ought to read οὔποτε for κοῦποτε). 933. γίγνεται PL. 937. Nauck thought at one time that this *v.* (from which apparently *v.* 947 was concocted) originally ended: τοῦμόν ὄνομα σῶ πόσει. 938. εἰ μὴ καὶ PL, εἰ καὶ μὴ Ald.—ἤρατο PL, ἡράμην Nauck. 940. ἀγνός P, ἀγνὸν L. 943. ἡτιμασμένη P (corrected by a late hand to ἡ-), ἡ- L. Nauck and Herm. (*Opusc.*) rightly reject this *v.* θανμαστὰ ὡς is late Greek for the prose θανμαστῶς ὡς, and the latter part of the line comes from *Hel.* 455 ὦ δαίμων ὡς ἀνάξι' ἡτιμώμεθα. 945. τ' ἐν PL, but the first hand in L has written a δ' over the τ'. 946 and 947. I suspect that the interpolator of these two *vv.* had in mind *I. T.* 369 (ff.). "Αἰδὴς Ἀχιλλεύς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως κ.τ.λ. and therefore that there is a little more sense in them than Hennig gives them credit for, though he and others are doubtless right in condemning them, as having no connexion with what precedes. The absolute use of φονεύσει is not Greek. The interpolator doubtless meant them to refer to Achilles, but as they stand they can only refer

936. φατισθεῖς] Cp. above *v.* 135.

937. τοῦμόν δέμας] a mere periphrasis for 'myself'. See however Crit. N.

938. εἰ...ἤρατο] A bold picturesque expression, of somewhat the same character as Aeschylus's ἀνυρὸς ἄρδης used of the gad-fly's sting. There we have 'an arrow-point which no fire has forged': here, 'a murderer who never lifted sword', *i.e.* 'my name'.

940. σῶμ' ἐμόν] not a mere periphrasis

here, like the τοῦμόν δέμας of *v.* 937. Perhaps he is thinking, as Clytaemnestra does below, of his possible future wedding. 'It will be a personal stain upon me'.

944. κάκιστος] not vilest in a moral sense, but most cowardly.

945. τὸ μηδέν] Cp. Monk on *Hipp.* 634 (638). Cf. above *v.* 371 for a variety of the expression.—ἐν ἀνδράσιν. Cp. Monk on *Alc.* 748 (732).



εἶπερ φονεύσει τοῦμόν ὄνομα σὺ πόσει.]  
 μὰ τὸν δι' ὕγρων κυμάτων τεθραμμένον  
 Νηρέα, φυτουργὸν Θέτιδος ἥ μ' ἐγείνατο,  
 οὐχ ἄψεται σῆς θυγατρὸς Ἀγαμέμνων ἀναξ, 950  
 οὐδ' εἰς ἄκραν χεῖρ', ὥστε προσβαλεῖν πέπλοις.  
 [ἢ Σίπυλος ἔσται πόλις ὄρισμα βαρβάρων,  
 ὅθεν πεφύκασ' οἱ στρατηλάται γένος,  
 Φθία δὲ τοῦμόν τ' οὐδαμοῦ κεκλήσεται.]  
 πικροὺς δὲ προχύτας χέρνιβας τ' ἐνάρξεται 955  
 Κάλχας ὁ μάντις. τίς δὲ μάντις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ,

to Menelaus. 947. ὅσπερ φονεύει PL, εἶπερ Ald., φονεύσει Schaefer. vv. 952—954. Nauck suspects v. 953, Hennig condemns 953 and 954. I think all three verses ought to go. They are a clumsy parallel to vv. 945 and 946. ὄρισμα is possibly an ignorant scribe's Greek translation of the Lat. *finis*. 954. φθία δὲ τοῦμόν τ' οὐδαμοῦ L, φ. δ. τοῦμόν τοῦδαμοῦ P, the τ being crossed through. The accent of the τοῦμόν, the absence of the ' after the second τ, and the shape of the letter itself, prove that this second τ was a subsequent addition to P (probably when it was corrected to agree with L). Hennig is probably right in holding that the composer of the line by τοῦμόν meant τοῦμόν ὄρισμα (supplied from v. 952). The inserter of the τ' before οὐδαμοῦ probably supplied γένος from 953. Φθίας δὲ τοῦνομ' οὐδαμοῦ Jacobs. This emendation has been adopted by all editors who believe the v. to be genuine. 955. ἀνάξεται PL, ἐνάρξεται Musgr. vv. 959—974. Hennig (pp. 125 ff.) has, I think, proved these vv. to be spurious. He also shows good cause for thinking that vv. 963 and 964, and again vv. 973 and 974, betray in their language, as well as in their want of sense, a far later interpolator than the rest of the passage. In the latter we find a character which at first sight seems to fit Achilles (cf. Hor. *A. P.* 121 f., Homer *I* 395 f.). A little reflection however shows this particular expression of the character to be quite irreconcilable with the earlier part of the speech. There he expresses indignation that his name should have been used as the instrument of such a deed as the sacrifice of Iphigeneia: here he is made to say that, if his dignity had not been offended by the way in which it had been done, he would have consented; and moreover he is made

948. This v. is marked as ὥραϊον in the margin of P.

951. εἰς] here apparently means 'so much as', lit. 'to the extent of'. The hand (ἄκρα χεῖρ) spoken of is Agamemnon's. 'He shall not even so much as touch her garments with his hand'. Cf. Homer's use of εἰς in Γ 158 αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῆς εἰς ὤπα ἔοικεν and in α 411 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακῶ εἰς ὤπα ἔφκει—perhaps 'as far as face goes'. Paley compares εἰς πλῆσμονας in *Tro.* 1211.

955. πικροὺς] 'to his cost' as Paley

says. Cp. Cobet *V. L.* 573.

956. The ἀνὴρ joined to μάντις (cf. the Homeric *λητρὸς ἀνὴρ* Λ 514, ἀνὴρ ὀχετ-ηγός Φ 257, νομεὺς ἀνὴρ Soph. *O. T.* 1118, and the English *fisherman*, *beggar man*, *sailor man*) marks the noun as the designation of a *calling*, and so, like the English 'professional' and 'professed', may be used in a slightly derogatory sense. Without the ἀνὴρ the words would most naturally have meant 'who is a seer?'

ὅς ὀλίγ' ἀληθῆ, πολλὰ δὲ ψευδῆ λέγει  
 τυχών, ὅταν δὲ μὴ τύχῃ, διοίχεται;  
 [οὐ τῶν γάμων ἕκατι, μυρίαί κόραι  
 θηρῶσι λέκτρον τοῦμόν, εἴρηται τόδε· 960  
 ἀλλ' ὕβριν ἐς ἡμᾶς ὕβρις' Ἀγαμέμνων ἀναξ·  
 χρῆν δ' αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν τοῦμόν ὄνομ' ἐμοῦ πάρα,  
 θήραμα παιδός· ἢ Κλυταιμνήστρα δ' ἐμοὶ  
 μάλιστ' ἐπέισθη θυγατέρ' ἐκδοῦναι πόσει.  
 ἔδωκά τ' ἄν Ἑλλησιν, εἰ πρὸς Ἴλιον 965  
 ἐν τῷδ' ἔκαμνε νόστος· οὐκ ἡρνούμεθ' ἂν  
 τὸ κοινὸν αὔξειν ὧν μέτ' ἐστρατευόμεν.  
 νῦν δ' οὐδέν εἰμι παρά γε τοῖς στρατηλάταις,  
 ἐν εὐμαρεῖ τε δρᾶν τε καὶ μὴ δρᾶν καλῶς.

to say it in Clytaemnestra's presence. If we suppose, on the other hand, that some of this part of the speech was an 'aside', not meant for Clytaemnestra's ears, it amounts to a confession that his previous indignation was feigned, and his character becomes that of a contemptible swaggerer. Neither supposition can be entertained for a moment.

959 f. ἢ P, ἦ, L, οὐ Lenting, γαμούντων PL, γάμων Canter. Hermann and Hartung would reject the parenthesis μυρίαί—τοῦμόν and insert δ' before εἴρηται. 963. δέ μοι PL, δ' ἐμοὶ Matthiae. Hermann reads εἰ for the mss. ἢ with only a comma after πόσει in v. 964. 965. ἔδωκέ τ' ἂν PL, ἔδωκα Hervagius, τᾶν Gaisford. 967. ἐστρατευόμεν PL, ἐστρατεύομεν Monk: the

958. τυχών] 'when he succeeds': i.e. 'at best' (he tells many lies for every truth).—Firnhaber and Vitelli are doubtless right both in taking δς as the subject of διοίχεται, and in interpreting the latter to mean 'he is nowhere to be found', 'he has vanished'. Barnes, Matthiae, Hermann, Weil, and others give translations of the word with *res* as its subject.—Firnhaber, on v. 515 above, has an interesting discussion (two pages long and more) on the way μάντεῖς and their art are spoken of in tragedy. It is interesting to notice that Euripides, like a true dramatist, gives us the view of 'the other side' as well: at *Phoen.* 954 Teiresias says ὅστις δ' ἐμπύρῳ χρήται τέχνῃ, μάταιος· ἦν μὲν ἐχθρὰ σημήνας τύχῃ, πικρὸς κατέστηχ' οἷς ἂν οἰωνοσκοπῇ· ψευδῆ δ' ὑπ' οἴκτου τοῖσι χρωμένους λέγων ἀδικεῖ τὰ τῶν θεῶν. I think Firnhaber is wrong in finding in Tei-

resias's words in the *Bacchae* (e.g. v. 298 ff.), and in his character in that play, an attempt to bring ridicule on the seer's art.

961. Cf. *Bacchae* 247 ὕβρεις ὑβρίζειν and 1297 ὕβριν γ' ὑβριστεῖς.

963 f. θήραμα] generally means 'prey', but the interpolator seems to have used it in the sense of 'snare', i.e. 'means of catching'. The two datives ἐμοὶ and πόσει must both have been meant to go with ἐκδοῦναι, and this gives a very loose construction, which is not improved by the weak μάλιστ'.

965 f. εἰ πρὸς Ἴλιον ἐν τῷδ' ἔκαμνε νόστος] This seems to have been borrowed from *I. T.* 1018 f. τῇδε γὰρ νοσεῖ νόστος πρὸς οἴκους.

969. Commentators are divided as to whether to regard Achilles as the subject or object of δρᾶν.

- τάχ' εἴσεται σίδηρος, ὃν πρὶν εἰς Φρύγας  
 ἐλθεῖν, φόνον κηλίσιν αἵματι χρανῶ,  
 εἴ τίς με τὴν σὴν θυγατέρ' ἐξαιρήσεται.  
 ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζε· θεὸς ἐγὼ πέφηνά σοι  
 μέγιστος, οὐκ ὦν· ἀλλ' ὅμως γενήσομαι.]
- ΧΟ. ἔλεξας, ὦ παῖ Πηλέως, σοῦ τ' ἄξια  
 καὶ τῆς ἐναλίας δαίμονος, σεμνῆς θεοῦ.
- ΚΛ. φεῦ·  
 πῶς ἂν σ' ἐπαινέσαιμι μὴ λίαν λόγοις;  
 [μῆτ' ἐνδεῶς μὴ τοῦδ' ἀπολέσαιμι τὴν χάριν;  
 αἰνούμενοι γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ τρόπον τινὰ  
 μισοῦσι τοὺς αἰνούντας, ἣν αἰνῶσ' ἄγαν.  
 [αἰσχύνομαι δὲ παραφέρουσ' οἰκτροὺς λόγους,  
 ἰδία νοσοῦσα· σὺ δ' ἄνοσος κακῶν γ' ἐμῶν.

active is much commoner in Eur. than the middle. 970. σίδηρον P corrected by a late hand to σίδηρος, σίδηρος L the -os being in an erasure by the first hand. 971. αἵματι PL, αἵματος Porson, who read φόνον, omitting the comma after ἐλθεῖν. Perhaps Weil is right in regarding αἵματι as a gloss on φόνον κηλίσιν which ousted a word—Herwerden suggests Ἕλληνας, used, as at *I. T.* 72, as an adj. αἵματοχρανῶ Bothe. Possibly αἵματώσομεν originally stood at the end of the verse, and αἵματι χρανῶ was a marginal gloss intended as an explanation of φόνον κηλίσιν αἵματώσομεν. 978. μῆτ' ἐνδεῶς μὴ τοῦδ' ἀπολέσαιμι τὴν χάριν PL: in L *ης* is written (by m<sup>2</sup> Vit. says) over ὦς. I think that this was a foolish addition by an early scribe, intended as an aside, and that he wrote ἀπολέσω, which was afterwards assimilated in termination to the ἐπαινέσαιμι in *v.* 977. Its meaning would then be 'nor too little, for fear I may lose this man's favour'. Many attempts have been made to mend the metre and construction of the MSS.: μῆτ' ἐνδεῶς μῆτ' ἀπ- Ald., μῆτ' ἐνδεῆς τοῦδ' ἀπ- Markl., μῆδ' ἐνδεῆς τοῦδ' ἀπ- Dind., μῆδ' ἐνδεῶς που διολέσαιμι Weil. But whether mended or not the verse seems to me equally out of place. The following words refer exclusively to *v.* 977. 979. ἀγαθοὶ PL, corrected by a late hand in P to οἰγαθοὶ or οἱ ἀγαθοὶ. ἀγαθοὶ Pors. 980. ἦν PL, altered by a late hand in P to ἐάν. 981—989. Hennig rejects these verses and Wecklein follows him. (1) Why should the queen, after thanking Ach. effusively for his offered help, turn

970. Monk compares *Phoen.* 1677 ἴστω σίδηρος ὀρκίων τέ μοι ξίφος and 253 ἂν Ἄρης τάχ' εἴσεται.

973. It is possible that the interpolator here used φαίνεσθαι in the sense of δοκεῖν. If not, it is hard to find any sense in the following verse.

977. The μὴ shows that the sentence is meant as a wish. In effect she says: 'My fear is that I shall not be able to avoid excess in my praise of you'.

979 f. Barnes cps. *Orestes* 1162 βάρος τι κὰν τῷδ' ἐστὶν, αἰνεῖσθαι λίαν, and Monk adds *Herac.* 202 καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπιφθονον λίαν ἐπαινέειν ἐστι.

981. παραφέρουσ'] Not the same as προσφέρουσα: there is in the παρα- the notion of bringing in something *foreign to the occasion*. The word would very well suit the first introduction of a sufferer's petition, though not a repetition of it.

ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχει τοι σχῆμα, κἄν ἄπωθεν ᾗ  
 ἀνὴρ ὁ χρηστός, δυστυχοῦντας ὠφελεῖν.  
 οἴκτιρε δ' ἡμᾶς· οἴκτρά γάρ πεπόνθαμεν. 985  
 ἢ πρῶτα μὲν σε γαμβρὸν οἰηθεῖς ἔχειν,  
 κενὴν κατέσχον ἐλπίδ'· εἰτά σοι τάχα  
 ὄρνις γένοιτ' ἂν τοῖσι μέλλουσιν γάμοις  
 θανοῦς ἐμὴ παῖς, ὃ σε φυλάξασθαι χρεῖν.]  
 ἀλλ' εὖ μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶπας, εὖ δὲ καὶ τέλη· 990  
 σοῦ γὰρ θέλοντος παῖς ἐμὴ σωθήσεται.  
 βούλει νιν ἰκέτιν σὸν περιπτύξαι γόνυ;  
 ἀπαρθένευτα μὲν τὰδ'· εἰ δέ σοι δοκεῖ,

afresh to supplications, and begin them in words which directly contradict words she has used in her supplications before, *i.e.* 900 ff. ? (αἰσχύνομαι δὲ—οὐκ ἐπαιδεσθῆσόμεσθ' οὖν κ.τ.λ.). (2) Then the passage breaks up internally: 981—984 stands by itself; so does 985—ἐλπίδ' in 987. The πρῶτα μὲν σε and εἰτά σοι have only the merest superficial pretence of a connexion of ideas. It is impossible to join the two passages together in thought, as two reasons for the same conclusion. The latter half of 989 is manifest 'padding'. 985 is a capital line in itself. (Schiller thinks this spasmodic recurrence to a suppliant's tone a natural sign of the bewildered anxiety of the distressed mother. This notion of a *studied inconsistency* cannot however be admitted for Greek Tragedy.) 983. P has what I think was ἄπωθεν ὧν corrected by a late hand to ἄπωθεν ᾗ which is the reading of L. Both here and at 979 P and L have γνώ[μη] in the margin. 988. τοῖσι PL, σοῖς τε Markland, σοῖσι Herm. (*Orusc.*). 990. καὶ τέλη PL, ? πανταχῇ (see Expl. Notes). 993. ἀπαρθένευτα· οὐ

983. ἔχει τοι σχῆμα] A somewhat dignified form of 'It looks well'. Monk translates 'he' (*i.e.* as he takes it, ἀνὴρ ὁ χρηστός) 'has good grounds', but a comparison of *Tro.* 470 (ὅμως δ' ἔχει τι σχῆμα κικλήσκων θεοῦς) shows that Musgrave was nearer in rendering "*habet speciem, vel gratiam*" and Hermann in taking ἔχει impersonally, and ᾗ with ἀνὴρ. (The τοι seems in place here and the τι there: cf. however *Hec.* 228, and *Soph. O. C.* 47, where the mss. are divided between τοι and τι.)

κἄν ἄπωθεν ᾗ] Cp. *Fr.* 894 σοφὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα, κἄν ἐκὰς ναίῃ χθονός, κἄν μήποτ' ὅσσοις εἰσίδω, κρίνω φίλον. Here ἄπωθεν is apparently used in the sense of unconnected by ties of family or race; though the connexion of the idea with the ἄνοσος κακῶν ἐμῶν shows that it

was used in quite a general sense. For the δυστυχοῦντας ὠφελεῖν in the next v. cf. δυστυχοῦντας ὠφελῶν in v. 1008 below.

990. The rejection of the previous 9 lines (see Crit. Notes), as Hennig says, restores to this v. its natural meaning. All such emendations as Kirchhoff's τέλει—for which absolute use of τελέω there is no parallel—and attempts to explain τέλη by supplying a verb in the imperative, are unnecessary. The words are a concise expression of the praise spoken of in the previous verses (977, 979 and 980). The plurals (ἀρχὰς and τέλη) add a dignity to the statement: for ἀρχαί cf. above v. 320 and *I. T.* 939 ἀρχαί δ' αἶδε μοι πολλῶν πόνων. At *Hel.* 661 L gives ἀρχὰς as a variant for ἀρχάν. Cf. also the adverbial κατ' ἀρχάς. But I



ἤξει, δι' αἰδοῦς ὅμμ' ἔχουσ' ἐλεύθερον.  
 εἰ δ' οὐ παρούσης ταῦτ' αὖτε ξομαι σέθεν,  
 μενέτω κατ' οἴκους· σεμνὰ γὰρ σεμνυντέα.  
 [ὅμως δ' ὅσον γε δυνατόν αἰδεῖσθαι χρεών.]

995

AX. σὺ μήτε σὴν παῖδ' ἔξαγ' ὄψιν εἰς ἐμήν,  
 μήτ' εἰς ὄνειδος ἀμαθὲς ἔλθωμεν, γύναι.  
 στρατὸς γὰρ ἀθρόος ἀργὸς ὦν τῶν οἴκοθεν  
 λίσχας πονηρὰς καὶ κακοστόμους φιλεῖ.  
 πάντως δέ μ' ἰκετεύοντες ἤξετ' εἰς ἴσον,  
 εἴ τ' ἀνικετεύτως· εἰς ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστ' ἀγὼν

1000

πρέποντα παρθένοις, Σοφοκλῆς Ἰφιγενείᾳ τῇ ἐν Αὐλίδι. Hesych. 994. ἤξει δι' PL, ἔξιειν Porson: but αἰδοῦς ἐλεύθερον would be 'no compliment' (Monk) to a maiden who was doing what was unmaidenly (ἀπαρθένευτα). The same applies to F. W. Schmidt's διχ' αἰδοῦς. At the same time δι' αἰδοῦς ἔχουσα is colourless and inexpressive, and though if ἤξει δι' αἰδοῦς be taken together the sense, so far, is more positive, it not only takes away the necessary prominence from ἤξει, but leaves a still weaker residuum in ὅμμ' ἔχουσ' ἐλεύθερον. Possibly ἔχουσ' is a corruption of some word meaning *veiling* or *holding down*, or ἐλεύθερον a corruption of some word or words meaning *veiled*, or *cast down*. 995. ἰδοῦ PL, εἰ δ' οὐ Hartung and Nauck. ταῦτα PL, ταῦτ' Heath. 996. σεμνύνεται PL, σεμνυντέα F. W. Schmidt, rightly, I think. The ordinary reading is a strong description, implying, if anything, a little reproach. This was felt by the interpolator of the next v. This v. is given to AX. and the next to KΛ. in the mss. Elmsley gave both to Cly. 997. "Melius aberit" Nauck. I think this v. was an interpolation, springing out of a mistake in the previous v. (see above). The qualifying γε is quite out of place. The sense of the passage thus remodelled is in effect, 'For she is very shy: but for all that we must respect her shyness wherever we can'. I imagine that the interpolation was made before v. 996 was given to AX., and that the man who made this further alteration understood by 997 'For all that, we are bound to show you (Achilles) what respect we can'. 1002. ἴξετ' or ἔξετ' corr. by a late hand to ἤξετ' P, ἔξετ' L. 1003. εἴ τ' ἀνικέτευτος ἦς PL, εἴ τ' ἀνικετεύτως εἰς Nauck (ἐπ'

know of no other instance of a similar plural to τέλος in the sense of *end*—τέλη usually having various other special meanings.

995. οὐ] because Iph. actually was absent.

996. σεμνὰ γὰρ σεμνυντέα] simply '(her) shyness must be respected'. σεμνύνονται at Plat. *Rep.* 405 A is generally taken as a passive in the sense of 'are respected', 'gain respect'.

999. ὄνειδος ἀμαθὲς] (incur) 'the reproach of the foolish'.

1000. τὰ οἴκοθεν] Their home occupations and interests.

1003. εἴ τ' ἀνικετεύτως] The adv. here, with which we must supply ἤξετε from the preceding v., must be taken actively: i.e. 'if you come without a suppliant's prayer'. Other instances of similarly formed adjectives used actively (e.g. ἀφύλακτος, ἀπρακτος) are given by Krüger 41, 11, 26. Closely parallel to ἀνικέτευτος is the ἀνεκτος quoted by Markland from an epigram in Plat. *Alc.* 143 A, where it is used actively.

μέγιστος ὑμᾶς ἔξαπαλλάξαι κακῶν.  
ὡς ἔν γ' ἀκούσας ἴσθι, μὴ ψευδῶς μ' ἐρεῖν· 1005  
ψευδῇ λέγων δὲ καὶ μάτην ἐγκερτομῶν  
θάνοιμι· μὴ θάνοιμι δ', ἣν σῶσω κόρην.

ΚΛ. ὄναιο συνεχῶς δυστυχοῦντας ὠφελῶν.  
ΑΧ. ἄκουε δὴ νυν, ἵνα τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔχῃ καλῶς.  
ΚΛ. τί τοῦτ' ἔλεξας ὡς ἀκουστέον γέ σου; 1010  
ΑΧ. πείσον μεταῦθις πατέρα βέλτιον φρονεῖν.  
ΚΛ. κακός τίς ἐστι καὶ λίαν ταρβεῖ στρατόν.  
ΑΧ. ἀλλ' οὖν λόγοι γε καταπαλαίουσιν φόβους.

ἀνικετεύω θ'. Weil). 1004. ἐξ ἀπαλλάξαι P corrected by a late hand to ἔξαπαλλάξαι. 1005—1007. J. C(onington) regards these νν. as spurious, and Dindorf has followed him. 1007. The μι of the second θάνοιμι is added above the line, I think by a second hand, in P. 1008. I suspect that συνεχῶς, which is not a poetical word, and is weak here, whether taken (as is best) with ὄναιο or with ὠφελῶν, is either a gloss or, more likely, a comment, directing that two words should be read as one (see above on ν. 1004), which has crept into the text. This latter suggestion may be regarded as a faint support of the view that νν. 1005—1007 are spurious: i.e. the συνεχῶς may conceivably have referred to the word ἔξαπαλλάξαι. Possibly the words ousted by συνεχῶς were δ' αὐτὸς or καὶ σὺν. 1009. δὴ νῦν PL, δὴ νυν Barnes. Cp. on ν. 1146 below.—ἐχῃ corrected by an early hand to ἔχει P, ἐχῃ with εἰ written over the η by the first hand (Vit.) L. Those who wrote ἔχει apparently took ἵνα in the sense of ἵστω, a natural extension of its use for the circumstances in which. 1011. πείθωμεθ' αὐτῖς PL, but in P there is an erasure over the ω extending back to the θ and the θ itself is a correction, I think, for an earlier σ, while in L πείθωμεν is written over the former word. πείθωμεν Scaliger, ἀδθῖς Matthiae, αὐτῆς Monk. Markland says the Paris copies of L vary between πείθωμεθ' and πείθωμεν. I believe that the original was πείσον μεταῦθις and that a copyist's erroneous writing of the second word as μεθαὐτῖς was the source of all the subsequent corruption. The imperative suits the passage better than the 1st pers. subj., for it is clear that Achilles does not mean to take any part in the attempt to prevail on Agamemnon. μεταῦθις, 'from henceforth', would be naturally used of a change of mind. 1013. οἱ

1006. μάτην ἐγκερτομῶν] very nearly corresponds to the English 'swagger'.

1007. μὴ θάνοιμι δ' κ.τ.λ.] These words seem to us at first a weak conclusion. The expression has been influenced by its antithetical form. Probably in effect they were meant as an assurance:—'As I hope for life I will save the maiden'.

1010. I have adopted Markland's punctuation of this line, but not quite his

interpretation, which is: "Quid hoc dicis quare me oportet audire te?" I think ὡς is that (conj.) and that the sentence is 'short' for 'what is this which you mean when you say I must hear (something) from you?' The passage Markland cites from the *Troades* (ν. 889) is not parallel: the ὡς there is exclamatory.

1012. See Introduction p. xv and above ν. 517, and cp. *Fr.* 716 κακός τίς ἐστι προξένω σοὶ χρώμενος.

ΚΛ. ψυχρὰ μὲν ἐλπὶς· ὅ τι δὲ χρεῶν με δρᾶν φράσον.

ΑΧ. ἰκέτευ' ἐκέϊνον πρῶτα μὴ κτείνειν τέκνα· 1015  
ἦν δ' ἀντιβαίνη, πρὸς ἐμέ σοι πορευτέον.

\* \* \* \* \*

[εἶη γὰρ τὸ χρῆζον ἐπιθετ', οὐ τοῦμόν χρεῶν  
χωρεῖν· ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτο τὴν σωτηρίαν.

καγὼ τ' ἀμείνων πρὸς φίλον γενήσομαι,  
στρατός τ' ἂν οὐ μέμψαιτό μ', εἰ τὰ πράγματα 1020  
λελογισμένως πρᾶσσοιμι μᾶλλον ἢ σθένει.

PL, οὖν Markl., λόγους PL, φόβους Musgrave (and so Wecklein). 1014. In

ψυχρὰ in P the ρ is inserted over the line in darker ink: i.e. the first hand wrote ψυχὰ, a mistake significant of the nature of the copyist.—τί δὲ χρή PL (χρή corrected in L by the first hand from χρῆ), ὅ, τι δὲ χρή Reiske, Markland and Musgrave, and so most editors. Scaliger's impossible χρεῶ suggested to Hermann χρεῶν, which is I think the best emendation:—χρή may well have been an explanation of the more unusual χρεῶν. 1016. ἂν PL, ἦν Markland. 1017. εἶη γὰρ τὸ χρῆζον

ἐπιθετ' PL (the η erased by a late hand in P), καὶ δὴ τὸ χρῆζον ἐπιθεν Monk, ἦ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Weil, who takes ἐπιθετ' to be for ἐπιθετε, εἰ γὰρ τὸ χρηστὸν πείσεται Blomfield. This verse is so corrupt that it seems to me impossible to determine whether it was originally spurious or not. 1018—1023. At any rate the following

six verses will, I think, generally be allowed to be an interpolation. The chief indications of their late origin are the following: χωρεῖν used in the sense of χωρεῖν πρὸς ἔργον, the weakness of the rest of the line, with its vague τοῦτο, the prosaic λελογισμένως: the καὶ in 1022 shows that κρανθέντων (used as gen. abs. with τούτων or τῶν πραγμάτων understood) was scanned by the accent as ---: lastly in 1023 κᾶν for καὶ is evidently a resource of a poor versifier. Monk rejected v. 1022, Dindorf vv. 1017—1023 and Nauck follows him in so doing. Weil rejects the last two vv. only, Hennig (who reads ἦ...ἐπιθεν), none. I think very possibly the interpolator of this passage had in mind *Hecuba* v. 854—856:—εἵπως φανείη γ' ὥστε σοὶ τ' ἔχειν καλῶς, στρατῶ τε μὴ δόξαιμι κ.τ.λ. 1019. In P a late hand has written an explanatory τοι over the τ. 1021. σθένει P, σθένει L (with ω

1017. τὸ χρῆζον] Lit. 'that which desires' (cf. Thuc. i. 36 τὸ δεδιὸς and τὸ θαρσοῦν), a periphrasis for 'desire', but not, as most interpreters take it, for 'entreaty'; for though, like the English *require, desiderate*, the word is sometimes used of the *expression* of a need, it properly applies to *feeling* the need. Hennig (see C. N.) sees no difficulty in making a general clause with a *quasi* gnomic aorist (ἦ τὸ χρῆζον ἐπιθεν: "*qua optatio persuasit*") subordinate to words which must apply to the particular case: "*non me opus est intercedere*". It must

be admitted that Weil's ἦ makes the χωρεῖν easier.

1019. For ἀμείνων πρὸς φίλον, which has a suspicious ring about it, Monk compares *Alc.* 433 ἀμείνων' εἰς ἐμέ, and Vitelli vv. 1179 and 1184 (κακὴν περὶ σέ) below, and *Med.* 82 οἷος εἰς ὑμᾶς, and Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 2. 27 (τοιοῦτος εἰς σέ). Both the γενήσομαι and the μέμψαιτο ἂν clauses must be taken together as apodosis to the following εἰ clause.

1021. λελογισμένως] 'by plan'—well enough as a contrast to 'by force', but not the contrast which is in place here.

καλῶς δὲ κρανθέντων καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν φίλοις  
σοὶ τ' ἂν γένοιτο κἄν ἐμοῦ χωρὶς τάδε.]

ΚΛ. ὥς σῶφρον' εἶπας. δραστέον δ' ἅ σοι δοκεῖ.  
ἦν δ' αὖ τι μὴ πράσσωμεν ὧν ἐγὼ θέλω,  
ποῦ σ' αὖθις ὀφύμεσθα; ποῦ χρή μ' ἀθλίαν  
ἐλθοῦσαν εὐρεῖν σὴν χέρ' ἐπίκουρον κακῶν;

1025

ΑΧ. ἡμεῖς σε φύλακος οὐ χρέος φυλάξομεν.  
μή τίς σ' ἔδη στείχουσιν ἐπτοημένην  
Δαναῶν δι' ὅχλου· μηδὲ πατρῶον δόμον  
αἰσχυν'· ὁ γάρ τοι Τυνδάρεως οὐκ ἄξιος  
[κακῶς ἀκούειν· ἐν γὰρ Ἑλληνισιν μέγας].

1030

written over *ει* by an early hand). 1022. *κρανθέντων καὶ* P, and in L there is an erasure of one or two letters after *κρανθέντων*. 1024. *ὦ σῶφρον'* PL, but an early hand in both corrected to *ὥς σῶφρον'*: the correction is more complete in L as the circumflex has been erased. (The first stage in the error was probably the accidental omission of one of the two sigmas; then a later scribe, taking *εἶπας* for a participle, altered *ὦ* into *ῶ*.)

1025. *αὐτὰ* PL, *αὐ τι* Monk. *ἅ* P, *ἂν* L, *ὧν* Monk. 1026. The *σ* in *ὀφύμεσθα* was added by an early hand in L. Wecklein would read *ποῖ* for the second *ποῦ*. 1028. *φύλακες οὐ χρεῶν φυλάσσομεν* PL, *φυλάξομεν* Markland. I think the *φύλακες φυλάξομεν* is very weak, and suggest that originally the line ran *ἡμεῖς σε φύλακος οὐ χρέος φυλάξομεν*. 1032. I have no hesitation in

To advise supplication is hardly to 'conduct the affair by plan'.

1022. It is possible that the *καὶ* was not due to the original writer: if so the line is open to a different though less serious metrical objection: *i.e.* the lack of a caesura in the middle, and the division into two halves. If the *καὶ* was part of the original line it was probably intended to go with the following *τ'* as *both—and*: if a subsequent addition, it was probably made by some one who did not see the sense of the two lines and thought *καλ. κραν.* wanted joining to *πρὸς ἡδ. φίλ.*—I think we are meant to supply *τῶνδε* from the *τάδε* in *v.* 1023 and not *τῶν πραγμάτων*, as most, with *κρανθέντων*.

1023. The *ἂν* in *κἄν* must be supposed to be a *repeated ἂν*.—A miserable rag of sense we get from the sentence at best: 'If these things are brought to a successful issue they will please your friends,

and please you, without help from me'.

1024. *ὥς σῶφρον' εἶπας*] These words could hardly refer to *vv.* 1015 and 1016. It is probable therefore that the spurious 1017—1023 were composed to fill a gap in the text. Hardly any one, though, but their author could suppose that *ὥς σῶφρον' εἶπας* could refer to *them*.

1025. Monk cps. *I. T.* 513 *ἄρ' ἂν τί μοι φράσεις ὧν ἐγὼ θέλω*;

1028 f. I have followed Markland's note in putting a full stop at *φυλάξομεν*. Most editors take *μή τίς σ' ἔδη κ.τ.λ.* as depending upon *φυλάξομεν*, but it is best to make them begin a separate prohibition. Cly. has asked Ach. where she is to find him when she wants him. His answer is that he will come when he is wanted, and that she is not to venture—in her excited state too—to traverse the camp. (Monk puts a full stop after *φυλάξομεν*, but says in his note that it is a mistake for a comma.)



- ΚΛ. ἔσται τὰδ'. ἄρχε' σοί με δουλεύειν χρεών.  
εἰ δ' εἰσι θεοί, δίκαιος ὦν ἀνὴρ, θεῶν  
ἐσθλῶν κυρήσεις· εἰ δὲ μή, τί δεῖ πονεῖν; 1035

ΣΤΑΣΙΜΟΝ Γ'.

- ΧΟ. τίς ἄρ' ὑμέναιος διὰ λωτοῦ Λίβυος στρ.  
μετά τε φιλοχόρου κιθάρας  
συρίγγων θ' ὑπὸ καλαμοεσ-  
σᾶν ἔστασεν ἰαχάν,  
ὅτ' ἀνὰ Πήλιον αἰ καλλιπλόκαμοι 1040

following F. W. Schmidt (and Nauck) in rejecting this line, thus giving a speech of the same length as that to which it is an answer, and getting rid of a senseless line. 'Bringing shame on her father's house' is not the same thing as causing Tyndareus 'to be ill spoken of' (κακῶς ἀκούειν). 1033. *ἔστιν* PL, *ἔσται* Markl. 1034. In P this *v.* is in cramped writing and ends with *ἀνὴρ*. In L *σύγε* is added, but not by the original hand (Vit. calls it an early hand, Wil.-Möll. *recentissima*). *σύ τοι* Valckenaer, with Porson's approbation, which words Heimsoeth would put after *θεοί*. Hermann (*Opusc.*) begins the *v.* *σὺ δ'*, *εἰ μὲν εἰσιν θεοί*. Vitelli, following Monk in taking *ἐσθλῶν* in *v.* 1035 as masc. with *θεῶν* supplied, would fill the gap by *θεῶν*. This I have adopted. The similarity of the ending of the previous *v.* may have caused the loss of *θεῶν*. See Porson's note on *Phoen.* 5, where he gives several instances of the loss of some case of *θεός*. 1035. In P *δεῖ* is corrected by an early hand from (I think) *δή*. 1036. *τίς* PL, *τίν'* (and *ὑμέναιος*) Markl. (See Expl. N. on *v.* 1039.) 1038. *καλαμόεσσαν* PL, *καλαμοεσσᾶν* Markland. 1039. *ἔστασαν* PL, *ἔστασεν* Portus. 1040. In P this *v.* begins with *ὅταν ἀνὰ*

1034. For the synzesis of *θεοί* following a short syllable cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1519 ἀλλὰ θεοῖς γ' ἐχθιστος ἦκω.

1035. For (θεῶν) ἐσθλῶν κυρήσεις Monk compares *Ion* 1269 ἐσθλοῦ δ' ἔκυρσα δαίμονος. For τί δεῖ πονεῖν Vitelli cps. Soph. *O. C.* 1022 εἰ δ' ἐγκρατεῖς φεύγουσιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ πονεῖν.

1036—1097. Third Stasimon. "Omnium in Euripide, mea opinione, pulcherrimum et suavissimum" Markland. The subject of the strophe and antistrophe is the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, with which in the Epode is contrasted the mock wedding between their son and Iphigeneia.

1039. *ἔστασεν*] There is, I believe, no other instance of any variety of the phrase *ιστάναι βοήν* being used with *song*

or *music*, instead of a *person* as its subject. It is this fact which makes Markland's *τίν'*...*ὑμέναιος* worthy of consideration. It is quite conceivable though, that in lyric poetry such a phrase as 'what song raised its strains' would be used as an intentional variety of the ordinary expression.

*ἰαχάν*] Cf. Elmsley on *Heraclicae v.* 752 and Nauck *Stud. Eur.* 1. 111 f. [*ἰαχή* and *ἰαχέω* always in tragedy, though the aor. *ἰάχων* (*Or.* 1465, *Tro.* 829): where the metre demands *ἰᾶ* read *ἰαχά*—cf. *v.* 1045—i.e. *ἡχή*: the forms in *κχ* are confined to *Ἰακχος* and its derivatives *ιακχάζω* and *ἐπεξιακχάζω*.]

1040. *ἀνὰ Πήλιον*] apparently means along the ridge of Pelion (on their way from Mt Olympus?): so *ἀν' ὄρος* in *v.* 1046.

Πιερίδες παρὰ δαιτὶ θεῶν

χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἵχνος

ἐν γὰ κρούσουσαι

Πηλέως εἰς γάμον ἦλθον,

μελφοῖς Θέτιν ἀχήμασι τὸν τ' Αἰακίδαν

1045

Κενταύρων ἀν' ὄρος κλέουσαι

Πηλιάδα καθ' ὕλαν;

[ὁ δὲ Δαρδανίδας, Διὸς

λέκτρων τρύφημα φίλον,

1050

(with a space between) corrected to *ὄτ' ἀνὰ*, in L an erasure follows *ιαχάν* and *ὄτ' ἀνὰ* is in an erasure. I conjecture that the confusion arose from the presence in some MS. of an *ἀντάν* by the side of *ιαχάν*, intended either as a variant or an explanation. 1041—1043. *Vv.* 1041 and 1063 should correspond metrically, but as they stand in the MSS. they are: Πιερίδες ἐν δαιτὶ θεῶν and: παῖδες αἱ Θεσσαλαί, μέγα φῶς, which certainly do not. In *v.* 1063 I have adopted Weil's modification of Kirchhoff's reading (παῖδά σε Θεσσαλία μέγα φῶς, with γεννάσειν in 1065), and, with some doubt, Kirchhoff's *παρὰ* for *ἐν* in 1041. Hennig, on the ground that these words can only mean that 'the Muses came to Peleus's wedding, while beating the ground (etc.) in a banquet of the gods', reads Πιερίδες, χάρμ' ἐπὶ δαιτὶ θεῶν and (in 1063) παῖδες οἱ Θεσσαλίας, μέγα φῶς. He argues from the fact that in a chorus of the *Bacchae* Πιερία corresponds to κατὰ φάος, that the *ι* in Πιερίδες might be treated in Lyric poetry as a short syllable—a very inconclusive deduction. His objection to the meaning of the ordinary reading is well founded. It can only be met by saying that κρούουσαι is used 'habitually', in the sense of 'who often beat' (the ground etc. at the feasts of the gods). But this would at least need the article before κρούουσαι. I propose to avoid this difficulty by reading κρούουσσαι in *v.* 1043 for the MSS. κρούουσαι. In such a position a *σ* may well have slipped out, especially in an uncial MS. The δαιτὶ θεῶν I take therefore to be the same as that spoken of in *v.* 1060, that, *i.e.*, at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. 1044. Πηλέως (with *σ*, *i.e.* συνίησις, over ἔως) P, Πηλέος L. 1045. μελφοῖ PL, μελφοῖς Elmsley (on *Heracl.* 752). ιαχήμασι PL (with ἀντὶ μῆς written over the *ια* in both MSS.), ἀχήμασι Elmsley. 1046. ἐν ὄρεσι PL, but in L ἐν, which Vitelli gives as the reading, looks, in his facsimile, as if it had been altered by a later hand to ἀν', which is the reading of Paris A. ἀν' ὄρος Herm. When ἀν' became ἐν, ὄρος would naturally become ὄρεσι. κλέουσαι PL, κλείουσαι Brodaeus, and Paris A, κλέουσαι Monk. 1049—1053. I have no hesitation in rejecting these *vv.* and the corresponding *vv.* 1071—1075. Ganymede and the arms of Achilles were two stock mythological 'tags' worked in here possibly by the same interpolator who dished up for us earlier in the play the Homeric catalogue of the ships. The mention of what happened at the feast interrupts awkwardly here the account of the guests trooping to it along the mountain and of the sea-nymphs' dance on the sea-shore. 1050. φίλιον PL

1042. χρυσεοσάνδαλον] Euripides has seven (generally accepted) instances of compounds in χρυσεο- (instead of the ordinary forms in χρυσο-), always in lyrical

passages, Aeschylus one (χρυσεοστόμους in a trochaic tetrameter), Sophocles none. Euripides is the only tragedian who uses compounds beginning with χαλκεο-.

χρυσέοισιν ἄφυσσε λοιβὰν  
 ἐν κρατήρων γνάλοις,  
 ὁ Φρύγιος Γανυμήδης.]  
 παρὰ δὲ λευκοφαῇ ψάμαθον  
 εἰλίσσόμεναι κύκλια  
 πεντήκοντα κόραι γάμους  
 Νηρέως ἐχόρευσαν.

1055

ἀνὰ δ' ἐλάταισι στεφανώδει τε χλόα  
 θίασος ἔμολεν ἵπποβάτας  
 Κενταύρων ἐπὶ δαῖτα τὰν  
 θεῶν κρατήρᾳ τε Βάκχου.  
 μέγα δ' ἀνέκλαγον· ὦ Νηρηὶ κόρα,  
 παῖδα σὲ Θεσσαλίᾳ μέγα φῶς  
 μάντις ὁ φοιβάδα μούσαν

ἀντ.

1060

(with ἀντὶ μᾶς over ἰων in L), φίλον Musurus. 1055. κύκλια Weil rejects as an interpolation, and in *zv.* 1056 f. transposes Νηρέως and γάμους (see on *v.* 1078 in the antistrophe). I think it impossible that the strophe and antistrophe could have ended with lines which correspond so badly as γάμους ἐχόρευσαν and Πηλέως θ' ὑμεναίους, so I have adopted the transposition. 1056. Νηρέως corrected by (perhaps) an early hand to Νηρηῶς P, Νηρηῶς L, but the ῶς is in an erasure: the correction, V. says, is an early one. 1058. A good instance of the short-sighted way in which MSS. are sometimes corrected is the fact that an early hand in L so accents these words as to make them read στεφάνω δεῖ τε. 1059. ἵπποβότας PL, ἵπποβάτας Paley and Gomperz, who compare the use (Soph. *Trach.* 1095) of ἵπποβάμων as an epithet for the Centaurs. Paley compares *Cyclops* 54, at which place L<sup>1</sup> reads ἀγροβότα and L<sup>2</sup> and P ἀγροβάτα. I do not think Hennig's objection, founded on the difference of meaning between -βάτης and -βάμων, conclusive. 1062. Νηρηεὶ corrected by a not very early hand to Νηρηῇ P, Νηρηὶ L. 1063. παῖδες αἱ Θεσσαλαὶ PL, παῖδα σὺ Θεσσαλίᾳ Kirchhoff, in which Weil changes σὺ to σε. 1064. δ' ὁ φοιβα μουσαν εἰδώς P (an early hand crossed through the δ' and a later

1058. 'Among the pines, with their green crowns', στεφανώδει being used with reference to the flat circular shape often assumed by the foliage of the silver fir. Weil reads ἐλάταις σὺν στ., and takes the words to mean 'leaning on pine-stems, and garlanded with green leaves', quoting (after Lenz and Matthiae) Hes. *Scut.* 188, where ἐλάται are mentioned as the weapons of the Centaurs. Vitelli also compares the Homeric χρυσέῃ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ A 15 and 374. But the passage as it stands gives us at least as good a

sense. For the images it suggests cp. *Alc.* 585 f. ὑψικόμεν πέραν βαίνουσ' ἐλάτῶν, and *Bacch.* 38 χλωραῖς ὑπ' ἐλάταις. For the ἀνὰ cf. above, *v.* 754.

1062. I think it is best to take μέγα as an adv. qualifying ἀνέκλαγον and not as part of the Centaurs' song, which begins at ὦ and goes down to πυρώσων. This again is better than taking 'ὦ... φῶς' and 'ὅς... πυρώσων' to be words uttered by Cheiron only.

1063. For Θεσσαλίᾳ μέγα φῶς cp. below *v.* 1502 ἔθρεψας Ἑλλάδι μέγα φάος.

εἰδὼς γεννᾶσιν 1065  
 Χείρων ἐξονόμαζεν,  
 ὃς ἤξει χθόνα λογχήρεσι σὺν Μυρμιδόνων  
 ἀσπισταῖς Πριάμοιο κλεινὰν  
 Ἴλιάδα πυρώσων. 1070  
 [περὶ σώματι χρυσέων  
 ὅπλων Ἡφαιστοπόνων  
 κεκορυθμένος ἔνδυτ', ἐκ θεᾶς  
 ματρὸς δωρήματ' ἔχων  
 Θέτιδος, ἃ νιν ἔτικτε.] 1075  
 μακάριον τότε δαίμονες  
 τᾶς εὐπάτριδος γάμον  
 Νηρῆδός τ' ἔθεσαν ποτνίας

one changed φοῖβα into φοῖβος, and inserted a ὁ before μουνσαν and a τ' after it), δ' ὁ φοῖβα μουνσαν εἰδὼς (corrected to δ' ὁ φοῖβος ὁ μουνσαν τ' εἰδὼς) L. I am not sure about the original accents in P. The εἰδὼς in Vitelli's collation (*Oss.* p. 70) is a misprint for εἰδῶς, the first ' being the apostrophe of the τ'. ὁ φοῖβάδα μούσαν εἰδὼς Hermann. 1065. γεννᾶσιν PL (γεννήσεις is written over it in P and η is written over α in L), γεννᾶσιν Weil. 1066. ἐξονόμασεν PL, ἐξονόμαζεν Monk and Firnhaber (Hermann, who reads ἀνέκλαγεν in 1062, reads ἐξονομάζων here). 1067. ἤξει PL, but the adoption of the above-mentioned emendations almost seems to necessitate ἤξει. 1068. λογχήρεσι PL (σσ corrected to σ in L but not in P). 1069. ἀσπισταῖς P, ἀσπισταῖσι L (with a 'quasi erasure', Vitelli says, of the final ι). 1070. γαῖαν ἐκπυρώσων PL. Weil calls attention to the fact that there is no place here for both γαῖαν and χθόνα and reads Πέργαμά τε πυρώσων, which, as he says, also restores the strophical correspondence: I have ventured to read Ἴλιάδα πυρώσων. In uncials γαῖαν and Ἴλιάδα are very similar, and when once γαῖαν had taken its place the ἐκ would be added for the sake of the metre. 1075. ἔτικτε PL, ἔτικτεν L<sup>2</sup>. 1078. Νηρῆδος ἔθεσαν πρῶτας PL. In both a later hand has altered N. to Νηρηίδος and written ἀντὶ μᾶς over the -δος, meaning it, I think, to apply to the two syllables -δος ἔ. In L -ης is written by an early hand—Vit.

1066. ἐξονόμαζεν] Used as ὀνομάζω at I 515 and Σ 449 in the sense of *state distinctly, promise*. It is a little difficult to find an exact force for the imperfect here; perhaps it may be given by putting an *always* with the English verb; '*always foretold*'.

1070. For χθόνα...πυρώσων cf. Soph. *Ant.* 286 f. πυρώσων...γῆν, and cf. above v. 535, and Kuster on Ar. *Thesm.* 115 where he gives several instances from tragedy of χθών or γῆ used instead of πόλις.

1071—1075. If these vv. were admitted into the text we should have to suppose the Centaurs' song to end at ἐξονόμαζεν, for Thetis could not be spoken of in the third person by name in a song addressed to her. Paley sees in the assumption of these vv. that Achilles would go to Troy already possessed of the armour made by Hephaestus, a proof that Euripides did not know *our* 'Homer'.—The acc. ἐνδυτά with κεκορυθμένος and the ἐκ which follows it are questionable Greek.



Πηλέως θ' ὕμνεαίους.

σέ δ' ὦ κόρα στέψουσιν καλλικόμαν ἐπ' ὁδός 1080  
 πλόκαμον Ἀργεῖοι, βαλὶαν  
 ὥστε πετραίων ἀπ' ἄντρων ἐλθοῦσαν ὀρέων  
 μόσχον ἀκήρατον, βρότειον  
 αἰμάσσοντες λαιμόν·  
 οὐ σύριγγι τραφεῖσαν, οὐδ' 1085  
 ἐν ροιβδήσεσι βουκόλων,  
 παρὰ δὲ ματέρι νυμφόκομον  
 Ἰναχίδαίς γάμον.  
 ποῦ τὸ τᾶς αἰδοῦς  
 ἢ τὸ τᾶς ἀρετᾶς ἔχει 1090

says m. pr.—over -as. Most editors have adopted Heath's *Νηρήδων*. Weil, see on *vv.* 1055—6 above, reads here *Νηρήδός τ' ἔθεσαν γάμον*, which last word he takes from *v.* 1077 to put in the place of *πρώτας* which he rejects as a gloss. (The τ' is Hermann's.) I venture to prefer *Νηρήδός τ' ἔθεσαν ποτνίας*. I take *πρώτας* to have been originally an explanation of *ποτνίας* (scanned ~ -). 1080. ἐπὶ κόρα PL, ὦ κόρα Herm. (*Orusc.*). 1081. γ' ἀλιᾶν PL, βαλὶαν Scaliger (cf. *Hec.* 90). 1082. ὀρέων PL, ὀρέαν Monk, but there is no objection of any kind to the gen. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 289 πόλεως ἄνδρες. 1086. ροιβδήσει PL, ροιβδήσεσι Dobree. 1087. νυμφόκομον PL, νυμφόκομον Reiske. 1090. δύνασιν ἔχει PL. I agree with Bothe that we ought only to have ἔχει here, that the word *δύνασιν* was written originally in *v.* 1093, and that *δύναμιν*, being written over it as an explanation, took its place, *δύνασιν* being transferred by a copyist's mistake to 1090. Hartung excludes both *δύνασιν* and ἔχει in 1090 and reads *σθένει* in 1091. I have adopted Bothe's reading, but I think the process of the error was more probably this: that *δύνασιν* was put in with the first ἔχει by way of explanation, to show, i.e., that

1083. βρότειον] I think it is worth suggesting that here and possibly at *Heracl.* 822 (λαιμῶν βροτείων) βρότειος has nothing to do with βροτός mortal, but is derived from the Homeric βρότος αἱματόεις, and means *gory* (here *proleptic*).

1085. σύριγγι] Cf. on 210 above. The ἐν before ροιβδήσεσι must be supplied mentally with σύριγγι too, ἐν being here 'within the sound of'. The ροιβδήσεις would doubtless be made by σύριγγες, so that the whole expression is equivalent to οὐκ ἐν ροιβδήσεσι βουκολικῶν συρίγγων. For the position of the prep. cf. Soph. *Ant.* 367 ποτὲ μὲν κακόν, ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' εἰσθλὸν ἔρπει. *Ant.* 1176, *O. T.* 734,

Ar. *Ach.* 533, Lobeck on Soph. *Ai. vv.* 395 ff., Eur. *Phoen.* 361 οὐτω δὲ τάρβος εἰς φόβον τ' ἀφικόμεν: this idiom is post-Homeric.

1087 f. These lines are hard: they seem to mean 'having not yet left her mother, though attired as a bride for some Argive husband'. For γάμος in the sense of bride Weil cps. *Androm.* 103. There is no parallel for νυμφόκομος in the sense of 'in bridal attire', but nothing else can be made of it here, and the analogy of similar compounds allows it, and at *Med.* 985 the verb νυμφοκομεῖν is used in the neuter sense of 'to appear as a bride'.

σθένειν τι πρόσωπον;  
 ὅποτε τὸ μὲν ἄσεπτον ἔχει  
 δύνασιν, ἃ δ' ἀρετὰ κατόπι-  
 σθεν θνατοῖς ἀμελεῖται,  
 ἀνομία δὲ νόμων κρατεῖ,  
 καὶ μὴ κοινὸς ἀγὼν βροτοῖς,  
 μὴ τις θεῶν φθόνος ἔλθῃ.

1095

ΚΛ. ἐξήλθον οἴκων προσκοπυμένη πόσιν,  
 χρόνιον ἀπόντα κάκλελοιπὸτα στέγας.  
 [ἐν δακρύοισι θ' ἡ τάλαινα παῖς ἐμή,  
 πολλὰς ἰεῖσα μεταβολὰς ὀδυρμάτων,  
 θάνατον ἀκούσας, ὃν πατὴρ βουλευέται.]

1100

this ἔχει was equivalent in force to the following δύνασιν ἔχει, and that when it had made its way into the text, the second δύνασιν was altered, for variety's sake, to δύναμιν. 1093. δύναμιν PL, δύνασιν Bothe (see on 1090). 1096. καὶ κοινὸς PL, καὶ μὴ κοινὸς Herm. This emendation of sense and metre alike is adopted by all editors but Firnhaber. 1098. προσκοπυμένη PL: a late hand in P altered the σσ into σ. 1099. ἀπόντ' ἐκλελοιπὸτα P, altered by an early hand to ἀπόντα κάκλελοιπὸτα: the latter is the reading of L, but not the original one, as the letters τα κ are in an erasure. 1100—1102. I have marked these three νν. as spurious. The first and last seem to me weak lines, and all three make an awkward interruption in Cly.'s speech. The most decided blot in them is the δν βουλευέται for δν βουλεύει. The only acc. which βουλεύεσθαι can take is an adverbial or cognate acc. of a neuter pronoun. Markland altered θ' in 1100 to δ'. Weil suspects θάνατον in 1102 and suggests τὸν γάμον. Monk would have expelled νν. 1099—1103, reading δέμας or πῶδα in ν. 1098 for πόσιν.—

1091. For αἰδοῦς and ἀρετὰς πρόσωπον Firnhaber well compares Ar. *Birds* 1324 τὸ τῆς ἀγανόφρονος ἡσυχίας εὐήμερον πρόσωπον.

1093. κατόπισθεν] i.e. men turn their backs on virtue.

1098. Here the fourth epeisodion begins. When Cly. left the stage at ν. 1035 it was to seek her husband and try to dissuade him from his purpose. Ag. left the stage at the end of the second epeisodion. We may suppose that, though his wife thought (cf. ν. 740) that he was then going into the camp, she had imagined at ν. 1035 that he might by that time have returned. She now comes out, with the same purpose as that with

which she went in. But, however we imagine it, it is nothing more than a matter of stage arrangement: a device, that is, to bring about the following meeting and conversation.

προσκοπυμένη] 'in the course of my watching or waiting (for my husband)', not 'to watch' for him.

1101. Headlam calls attention to the technical musical sense of μεταβολή. Cf. Aristid. *de Mus.* 1. p. 42 μεταβολή δέ ἐστι ρυθμική ρυθμῶν ἀλλοίωσις ἢ ἀγωγῆς, and Quintilian IX. 4. 50 *Illi [rhythmi], quomodo coeperant, currunt usque ad μεταβολήν, id est transitum in aliud genus rhythmi.*

μνήμην δ' ἄρ' εἶχον πλησίον βεβηκότος  
 Ἀγαμέμνονος τοῦδ', ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέκνοις  
 ἀνόσια πράσσων αὐτίχ' εὔρεθήσεται.

1105

ΑΓΑ. Λήδας γένεθλον, ἐν καλῷ σ' ἔξω δόμων  
 ἡῦρηχ', ἵν' εἴπω παρθένου χωρὶς λόγους  
 οὐς οὐκ ἀκούειν τὰς γαμουμένας πρέπει.

ΚΛ. τί δ' ἔστιν, οὗ σοι καιρὸς ἀντιλάζυται;

ΑΓΑ. ἔκπεμπε παῖδα τῶνδε δωμάτων πάρος·  
 ὥς χέρνιβες πάρειςιν ἡτρεπισμέναι,

1110

In 1100 P has *ἐδακρυοῖσι θ'*.—In 1101 the first hand of P wrote *λείσα*. 1104. αὐτοῦ PL, altered by an early hand in L to αὐτοῦ. 1110. The MSS. have *δωμάτων πατρός μετὰ*. The *πατρός μετὰ*, even when taken proleptically (for 'so as to be with', or 'to go with her father'), is weak and out of place. This is the first interview between the husband and wife since Cly. left the stage at v. 740 with the declaration that she certainly would not give up to Ag. the duty of attending on the bride. There Ag. accepts (vv. 742 ff.) the situation, and it is inconceivable that he should begin this interview with what is merely a feeble reiteration of his previous request. I have small doubt that Nauck was right in conjecturing that *πατρός* is a mistake for *πάρος*. Heimsoeth, accepting *πάρος*, rejected *μετὰ* and inserted *δεῦρο* before *δωμάτων*. I have adopted these emendations, preferring, however, to write *τῶνδε* as being a word more likely than *δεῦρο* to have fallen out or been ejected. 1111. *ἡτρεπισμένοι* PL (altered by a late hand

1103. *μνήμην ἔχειν*] is here used as at *Hel.* 1583 and *Hdt.* 1. 14, IV. 79 and 81, in the sense of *μνησθῆναι*, *mention*. Below at v. 1231 it has the commoner sense of 'bear in mind'.—*ἄρ'* marks Cly.'s sudden discovery that the man she has been talking of is approaching.

1104. For *ἐπὶ* 'against' cp. *Phoen.* 1379 *ἦξαν δρόμημα δεινὸν ἀλλήλοις ἔπι*: this use is poetical.

1105. "*πράσσειν*]= *machinari*, *Or.* 1579, 1587 etc." Vitelli.

1107. *ἵν' εἴπω*] *ἵνα* here is used elliptically. The idea of *purpose*, which is implied in the words *ἐν καλῷ*, is what has to be supplied. The train of the thought was probably: 'fortunately, that is, for my purpose of telling'. Compare the parenthetical use of *ἵνα* mentioned above on v. 320.

1108. *οὐκ...πρέπει*] It is not often that a negative is so far separated from the word it negatives as *οὐ* is here from *πρέπει*. We must not think that *οὐκ* is meant to go specially with *ἀκούειν*, but rather that *ἀκούειν πρέπει* was felt to be a compound verbal expression, either part of which might be negated with the effect of negating the whole. The same explanation applies to *Thuc.* 1. 70. 1 *περὶ ᾧ οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖτε οὐδ' ἐκλογίσασθαι πώποτε κ.τ.λ.* though the following *οὐδέ* here makes the position of the *οὐ* less marked.

1109. 'What is it for which you find the occasion so apt?' *σοι* is dat. of the person judging. The verb *ἀντ.* occurs again at v. 1227.

1110. *ἔκπεμπε*] 'fetch', or 'bring': cf. below on vv. 1115 f.

προχύται τε βάλλειν πῦρ καθάρσιον χερῶν,  
μόσχοι τε, πρὸ γάμων ᾗς θεᾷ πεσεῖν χρεῶν  
[Ἀρτέμιδι, μέλανος αἵματος φυσήματα].

ΚΛ. τοῖς ὀνόμασιν μὲν εὖ λέγεις, τὰ δ' ἔργα σου

1115

in P to -αι). 1112. πῦρ καθάρειον χερῶν PL (Wil.-Möll. is wrong in giving καθάρσιον as the MSS. reading). An early hand in both MSS. wrote an ἐκ over the *v.* between κ. and χ. Reiske Pierson and Markland all conjectured καθάρσιον (cf. *v.* 1472 below). The χερῶν, which makes no sense, was manifestly due to the scribe's eye wandering to the χρεῶν at the end of the following *v.* All editors (even Firnhaber, though he does not say so) have adopted Musgrave's emendation χερῶν (dat.). 1113. μόσχοτε προγαμῶν P, altered by a late hand into μόσχοι τε πρὸ γαμῶν, which is apparently the reading of L. 1114. φυσήματα P, φυσήματα L with a second σ written beneath the σ by an early hand, see above on *v.* 125. I suspect that this line has no business here:—that μέλανος αἵματος φουσάματα comes from some other tragedy, and that the Ἀρτέμιδι is due to the patcher who introduced the quotation. The words make a very harsh apposition to μόσχοι (or ᾗς), and the six consecutive short syllables are not euphonic.

1115. ὀνόμασι PL, in P a ν is written above the ι by an early hand.

1112. προχύται τε βάλλειν πῦρ] A comparison of *El.* 803 f. (Hermann) λαβὼν δὲ προχύτας...ἔβαλλε βωμούς explains this expression. The χέρνιβες were for the ceremonial washing of the hands, and the barley-meal for sprinkling on the altar-fire, and sometimes on the victim. (This was followed by cutting off and burning a tuft of the victim's hair.) Cf. A 458 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ νίψαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλλοντο. The technical term for the performance of these ceremonies preliminary to the sacrifice was κατάρχεσθαι, though the word is sometimes applied to the cutting the lock of the victim's hair alone.—πῦρ καθάρσιον. Cp. *H. F.* 937 and *vv.* 928 f. Fire was regarded as, even in a higher degree than water, a purifying element. In the passage of the *H. F.* referred to above, is described the mode in which the χέρνιβες were consecrated: *i.e.* by plunging into the water a burning brand from the altar: the fire is there called, as here, καθάρσιον πῦρ.

1115 f. An unusually elaborate conceit:

'Brave show your words make; yet I

know not how

In words approval of your deeds to show.'

For εὖ λέγειν, as used in *v.* 1116 with a *not* cognate object, for 'speak well of', 'approve', cf. *Alcest.* 1070 ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχοιμ' ἂν εὖ λέγειν τύχην: the other sense, that in which it is used in *v.* 1115, absolutely, or with a cognate acc., is far commoner. So at *Soph. O. C.* 1764 πράσσειν καλῶς, which almost always means 'to fare well', is used with ταῦτα for object in the sense of 'to discharge duly'.

With these words it is possible that Cly. entered the door of the royal tent to fulfil the request made by Ag. in *v.* 1110, immediately returning (at *v.* 1120—see *Crit. Notes*) with her daughter. Such a proceeding would be unusual on the Greek stage, where the usual practice was to call characters out and not to fetch them. But Cly.'s words *πειθαρχοῦσά σοι* in 1120 do not agree so well with a summons like that of *v.* [1117] as with a message conveyed by the mother from the father to the daughter.



οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως χρή μ' ὀνομάσασαν εὖ λέγειν.

[χώρει δὲ θύγατερ ἐκτός, οἶσθα γὰρ πατὴρ  
πάντως ἂ μέλλει, χυπὸ τοῖς πέπλοις ἄγε  
λαβοῦσ' Ὀρέστην σὸν κασίγνητον, τέκνον.]

ἰδοὺ πάρεστιν ἥδε πειθαρχοῦσά σοι.

1120

τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆσδε κάμαντῆς φράσω.

ΑΓΑ. τέκνον, τί κλαίεις, οὐδ' ἔθ' ἡδέως ὀράς,

εἰς γῆν δ' ἐρείσας ὄμμα πρόσθ' ἔχεις πέπλους;

ΚΛ. φεῦ·

τίν' ἂν λάβοιμι τῶν ἐμῶν ἀρχὴν κακῶν;

1117—1119. The mention of the baby is enough, I think, to condemn these three lines, even if consistent weakness of idea and expression did not help to drag them down. Paley was the first to reject them, but he rejected the foll. four *vv.* as well: making Iph. first appear at *v.* 1211. But if only Cly. is present, to whom could the plur. ἤκετε be addressed in *v.* 1127?—(See explanatory notes there.)—hardly to Cly. and the chorus.

1117. χώρει PL, in P *ει* is corrected from what looks like *ε* to *ει*, and in L the *ει* is in an erasure which has extended to the following δέ.

1118. μέλλει χυπὸ PL, with a *γε* inserted in both mss. by an early hand above the line between *ι* and *χ*. This *γε* maintained itself in the text till Gaisford expelled it.

1121. πρὸς τῆσδε PL, πρὸ τῆσδε Barnes. Cf. on *v.* 1201 below.

1122. A late corrector of P (probably Musurus) altered οὐδ' ἔθ' (which is also the reading of L) to οὐδέ θ' and so Ald. and the early editions. Reiske and Markland had the perception to alter it back. Markland proposed to insert *μ'* before ὀράς.

1124—1126. These three *vv.* are assigned in both P and L to Cly., but a late corrector of P, hastily assuming that, as 1122 *f.*

1116. πατρός] This is explained as equivalent to *περὶ πατρός*.

1120. After speaking these words to Agamemnon Cly. turns away from him.

1121. This *v.* is intended to account for the presence of Iph. (probably standing at the door of the tent) as a *muta persona* till *v.* 1211. It is convenient that Iph. should hear all that follows: otherwise fresh explanations would be necessary when she came on to the stage. The words are to be understood as not said to Agamemnon, but, like *vv.* 1124 *f.*, to be a soliloquy. (So too Vitelli.) Clytaemnestra is screwing herself up to the point of bringing the great charge against her husband. So in *Hec. vv.* 736 *f.* Iecuba soliloquizes for some time in the presence of Agamemnon before she makes up her mind finally to

address him, though he repeatedly asks her to do so.

1122 *f.* οὐδ' ἔθ'. There is no longer the glad greeting which met Ag. in the former scene (*vv.* 640 *ff.*). The heroine's head is bowed down, and her face covered in sign of grief. This indication gives the spectators just the information conveyed by the spurious *vv.* 1100—1102, and in a more effective way. The absolute use of ὀράς is remarkable: probably it is not merely the same as βλέπεις, but, as we see from the next *v.*, has also the notion 'use your eyes'. Firnhaber *cps.* Soph. *Phil.* 935 ἄλλ' ὥς μεθέσων μήποθ', ὥς ὀρᾷ πάλιν, Headlam better, Hes. *Sc.* 426 δεινὸν ὀρῶν ὁσοῖσι.

1124 *f.* The heroine still keeps her face hidden, and Cly. still turned away from Agamemnon continues her soliloquy,

ἅπασιν γὰρ πρῶτοιςι χρήσασθαι πάρα 1125

[κὰν ὑστάτοιςι κὰν μέσοιςι πανταχοῦ].

ΑΓΑ. τί δ' ἔστιν; ὥς μοι πάντες εἰς ἓν ἦκετε

σύγχυσιν ἔχοντες καὶ ταραγμὸν ὀμμάτων.

ΚΛ. εἴφ' ἂν ἐρωτήσω σε γενναίως, πόσι.

ΑΓΑ. οὐδὲν κελευσμοῦ δεῖ γ' ἐρωτᾶσθαι θέλω. 1130

were addressed to Iph., this must be her answer, altered κλυ (which is in the usual red-ink used for the indication of the speakers) to ἰφ (in black): and so Ald. and all early editions. Bremi (p. 237) first suggested that the *vv.* belonged to Cly., and Hermann's was, I think, the first edition which so gave them. Bremi however (followed by Matthiae and Weil), believed that the 3 *vv.* were inserted from some other tragedy, on the ground that they are evidently the beginning of a long speech. I do not agree with this view (see Explan. Notes), but I have no hesitation in following Monk, Nauck and Vitelli in rejecting *v.* 1126. It is evidently a reminiscence or a quotation of part of another passage. In L *κὰν* (*i.e.* καὶ ἂν) is written both times. This looks as if it belonged to a passage of a totally different construction from that of the present one. Even if we read *κὰν* it would puzzle us to fit the words in with the previous construction, which, moreover, gives a complete sense in itself.—In 1124 Herm. (*Opusc.*) very plausibly conjectures *λόγων* for *κακῶν*. It is possible that *κακῶν* may have been due to a reminiscence of *El.* 907 (see Expl. Notes). *λόγων*, however, does not suit the following *v.* so well as *κακῶν*.

*Vv.* 1129—1140. Several editors (mainly Hartung and Hermann) have proposed to rearrange these *vv.* in various ways. The chief motive seems to have been the desire to bring *v.* 1131 before 1140, or at all events to a later position in the conversation than it holds in the mss. I believe that the apparent inconsistencies are due to the fact that some of Ag.'s words are, as in some of his previous conversations, spoken aside (see Expl. Notes), and that no change is needed.

1129. Over ἂν in P is written ἄ ἂν as an explanation, in L it is written ἂν.

1130. οὐδὲν κελευσμ' οὐ δεῖ γ' PL (in L an ἦ is written over the εἰ—*i.e.* to suggest οὐ δὴ—and Vitelli marks no breathing over the *v* of *ου*), οὐδὲν κελευσμοῦ δεῖ γ' Canter (as printed, without comment, in his edition of 1571), δεῖ μ' Markland, and δεῖ σ' Dobree. Either μ' or σ' would give an excellent sense, but it is difficult to see how they could have been altered to γ', even after the corruption to οὐ δεῖ, and the γ' is not out of

but must be supposed to turn towards her husband before he speaks *v.* 1127.—Heath cps. Eur. *El.* 907 f. εἰεν· τιν' ἀρχὴν πρῶτα σ' ἐξείπω κακῶν, ποίας τελευτάς; τίνα μέσον τάξω λόγον;

1127 f. I have removed the comma usually printed at the end of this line because I think that the participle ἔχοντες is to be taken closely with *εἰς ἓν ἦκετε*:— 'How you all combine to show me', or 'agree in showing me, faces full of trouble and distress'. *μοι* is an ethic

dative. τί δ' ἔστιν; still spoken to Iphigeneia.—From the word πάντες we may conclude (Monk) that Iphigeneia was surrounded by attendants, but there is doubtless a reference to Cly. as well. As Iph. is to be supposed still veiled, it cannot be the expression of *her* face to which her father refers.

1129. Firmhaber cps. *Herac.* 890 f. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιοῖσδε χρὴ ἀψενδὲς εἶναι τοῖσι γενναίοις στόμα.

ΚΛ. τὴν παῖδα τὴν σὴν τὴν τ' ἐμὴν μέλλεις κτανεῖν;

ΑΓΑ. ἔα·

τλήμονά γ' ἔλεξας, ὑπονοεῖς θ' ἂ μὴ σε χρή.

ΚΛ. ἔχ' ἥσυχος,

κάκείνῳ μοι τὸ πρῶτον ἀπόκριναι πάλιν.

ΑΓΑ. σὺ δ', ἦν γ' ἐρωτᾷς εἰκότ', εἰκότ' ἂν κλύοις.

ΚΛ. οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐρωτῶ, καὶ σὺ μὴ λέγ' ἄλλα μοι.

1135

ΑΓΑ. ὦ πότνια μοῖρα καὶ τύχῃ δαίμων τ' ἐμός.

ΚΛ. κάμός γε καὶ τῆσδ', εἰς τριῶν δυσδαιμόνων.

ΑΓΑ. τί μ' ἠδίκησας; ΚΛ. τοῦτ' ἐμοῦ πεύθει πάρα;

place here. 1131. κτανεῖν PL, κτενεῖν Elmsley. (Cf. Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 74.)

1132. In P a late hand has senselessly altered the τ in τλήμονα to π. The first hand in L wrote τλήμον' ἔλεξας, but ἀγ' was added early above the line.—In P the θ' is in an erasure: I think what was first written was δ'. Among the many alterations made in this and the next v. with the view of including within the line the words ἔχ' ἥσυχος may here be mentioned Herm.'s ὑπονοεῖς τ'· ἔχ' ἥσυχος. In both P and L ἥσυχος is followed by : to indicate that the verse is broken off short, i.e. that the words are *extra metrum*. Ald. omits them. 1134. εἰκότα κλύεις PL, εἰκότ' ἂν κλύοις Markl. and Musgr. Farnhaber retains the MSS. reading.

1135. οὐκ ἄλλ' PL (in L there is a · after οὐκ; if there is one also in P, I have failed to notice it) and so Aldus: Canter's (1571) is the first edition in which I have found οὐκ ἄλλ'.

1136. τύχῃ καὶ μοῖρα δαίμων τ' ἐμός PL (altered in P to τ. κ. μ. καὶ δαίμων γ' ἐμός). Musgrave set the metre right by transposing the words μοῖρα and τύχῃ.

1137. κάμός τε PL, κάμός γε Matthiae. 1138. τί μ' ἠδίκησας P, τί μ' ἠδίκησε L: in P altered to τίν' ἠδίκησαι (the ν is written twice, in the place of the μ by an early hand, and above it by a late one; the -as is indistinct, as it has been scratched through and αἰ written above it, altered

1132 ff. Here and in vv. 1134 and 1137 Ag.'s first impulse is, naturally, to repel his wife's suggestion. The exclamatory v. 1136 was not spoken to Cly. and not meant to be heard by her; nor, probably, was v. 1140. And from Cly.'s words in v. 1142 f. it looks as if, whether she heard these last two vv. of Ag. or not, she refused to take them as an answer to her questions, for she says that when pressed, her husband is silent, and that this, and his exclamations (τὸ στενάζειν πολλά), she takes as confirmation of his guilt.

1133. ἔχ' ἥσυχος] Used here, as at *Med.* 550, *Hipp.* 1313, *Ar. Plut.* 127, to deprecate interruption. Elsewhere a

slight variation of the phrase (such as μέν' ἥσυχος) means 'do not distress yourself'. At Hdt. v. 92. 3 we have εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, and at Eur. *Suppl.* 305 εἶχον ἡσύχως. κάκείνο might possibly refer to a question which is to follow, in which case πάλιν would merely mean 'back'—'answer me back': but Ag.'s answer is rather in favour of the view that he understood the original question to be repeated. 'First answer again what I asked just now'.

1138 f. τί μ' ἠδίκησας] 'Why do you wrong me so?' These words of Ag. refer to what he still ventures to assert is an unwarrantable suspicion on Cly.'s part: i.e. that expressed in v. 1131. Cly. adroitly uses the words of Ag.'s question

- ΑΓΑ. ὁ νοῦς ὅδ' αὐτὸς νοῦν ἔχων οὐ τυγχάνει.  
ἀπωλόμεσθα. προδέδοται τὰ κρυπτά μου. 1140
- ΚΛ. πάντ' οἶδα καὶ πεπύσμεθ' ἃ σὺ μέλλεις με δρᾶν·  
αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ σιγᾶν ὁμολογοῦντός ἐστί σου  
καὶ τὸ στενάζειν πολλά. μὴ κάμης λέγων.
- ΑΓΑ. ἰδὸν σιωπῶ· τὸ γὰρ ἀναίσχυντον τί δεῖ  
ψευδῇ λέγοντα προσλαβεῖν τῇ συμφορᾷ; 1145
- ΚΛ. ἄκουε δὴ νυν· ἀνακαλύψομεν λόγους,

from ε which was written by the early hand. In L ν' is written above the μ' with ἡ after it). τί σ' ἠδίκησα or τίς σ' ἠδίκησε Markl., τίν' ἠδίκησα and afterwards (*Orusc.*) τί δ' ἠδίκησαι Herm. There is much here that is inexplicable. The theory that seems to me best to fit the mss. is that the original of P and L had τί μ' ἠδίκησας, that L wrote ἠδίκησε by mistake, and afterwards suggested τίν' for τί μ' to make sense out of nonsense, then that the first corrector of P adopted L's suggestion of τίν' ἠδίκησε which Musurus further altered to τίν' ἠδίκησαι. I have therefore printed what I believe to have been the first reading of P. (See Explanatory Notes.) 1139. In both P and L this ν. is given to Ag. 1141. πέπεισμ' ἃ σὺ with γε inserted above after σὺ PL, over μ in L is an erasure which Vitelli says contained αἰ (i.e. πέπεισμαι), πέπυσμ' Ald., πεπύσμεθ' ἃ σὺ Elmsley (*Quart. Rev.*, No. xiv.) and Erfurdt. 1143. κάμης PL, κάμης Porson. 1144. με δεῖ PL, τί δεῖ Elmsley, with α; at the end of the sentence. (It is a curiosity of textual criticism that Farnhaber proposes μὴ δεῖ, referring to his third excursus for this use of μὴ.) As Weil says, με was a marginal completion of the construction which ousted the τί. 1146. δὴ νῦν P, δὲ νῦν L, δὴ νυν Matthiae (cf. on ν. 1009 above and Valck. on *Phoen.* 918).—ἀνακαλύψω λόγους P, with γὰρ inserted by an early hand over the line, ἀνακαλύψω γὰρ λόγους L, ἀνακαλύψομεν Kirchhoff. Very possibly the same corrector, who changed πεπύσμεθ' into πέπυσμ' or πέπυσμαι, here also altered the plu. into the sing. Weil and Vitelli keep L's reading, but the asyndeton after ἄκουε (cf. *Hec.* 788 and 833) adds even more vigour to the sense than the short ο adds rhythm to the metre. As at ν. 1141 the γε, so here the γὰρ, put in to save the metre, originates with L. I think it possible that the original scribe of P scanned the first, and that of L the second α of ἀνακαλύψω as a long syllable. The χρῆσώμεθ' in the

to put *him* in the wrong. In the next ν. Ag. says 'The cleverness that can put such a question is no cleverness, but folly'. τυγχάνει is a natural variety for ἐστὶ in a sentence in which the predicate is a participle: it is best to take αὐτός, as Markl. says, closely with τυγχάνει and to pause at ὅδ': for οὐ τυγχάνει νοῦν ἔχων cp. *Bacchae* ν. 252 (ἀναίνομαι) τὸ γῆρας ὑμῶν εἰσορῶν νοῦν οὐκ ἔχον, and ν. 270 f. (θρασύς τε) καὶ λέγειν οἶός τ' ἀνὴρ κακὸς πολίτης γίγνεται νοῦν οὐκ ἔχων. For the

form Dobree cps. Plat. *Gorg.* 519 D καὶ τοῦτου τοῦ λόγου τί ἂν ἀλογώτερον εἴη πρᾶγμα; Farnhaber cps. for the sense *Bacch.* 655 σοφὸς σοφὸς σὺ, πλὴν ἃ δεῖ σ' εἶναι σοφόν. Cf. also Soph. *Phil.* 1244 σοφὸς πεφνκῶς οὐδὲν ἐξαυδᾶς σοφόν.

1140. Evidently spoken aside. The weak and changeable Ag. finds himself unable to support the deception any longer. The reference in ν. 1142 to his silence shows that Ag. stopped abruptly after saying ν. 1140.



κούκέτι παρῳδοῖς χρησόμεσθ' αἰνίγμασιν.  
 πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα σοι πρῶτα τοῦτ' ὀνειδίσω,  
 ἔγγρας ἄκουσάν με κάλαβες βία,  
 τὸν πρόσθεν ἄνδρα Τάνταλον κατακτανών,  
 βρέφος τε τοῦμὸν ζῶν προσοῦδισας πέδῳ,  
 μαστῶν βιαίως τῶν ἐμῶν ἀποσπάσας.

1150

next v. in L suggests that at some time ἀνακαλύψωμεν may have been read here.

1147. *χρησόμεθ'* P, *χρησώμεθ'*, corrected to *χρησόμεσθ'* by the first hand, L.

1148. *ὀνειδήσω* corrected by a late hand to *-ίσω* P, *ὀνειδίσω* L.

1151. *σῶ προσοῦρησας πάλῳ* P, *σῶ προσοῦρισας πάλῳ* L. In P something is written over *ρη* by a fairly late hand which may have been *ρι*, but I cannot see exactly why the *ρ* should have been interfered with. It may be doubted whether the writers took *προσοῦρισας* (they evidently meant it for an indicative) as the aor. of an Ionic form of *προσορίζω* (such a form would gain some support from *πρόσουρος* Soph. *Phil.* 691 and *τηλουρός*) or, as Musgrave (in his first edition) preferred, as from *προσουρίζω* (formed like *κατουρίζω*) a derivative of *οὔρος* a fair wind. *σῶ προσώρισας πάλῳ* Monk and Hartung, *σῶ προσοῦδισας πέδῳ* (or *πάτῳ*) Scaliger, and so Milton. Musgrave in his second edition conjectured *ζῶν πρὸς ὀκρίδας βαλὼν*, of which Jacobs adopted the *ζῶν* to go with Scaliger's *προσοῦδισας πέδῳ*. This compounded reading gives the best sense (Monk objects to the "horrid cruelty" of the action: but this was a mere trifle to what the Pelopidae *could* do), and is adopted by Herm. (*Opusc.*—In his edition he read *προσουρίσας* as a participle with *σῶ* and *πάλῳ*). Among other notions, it has been proposed to take *πάλῳ*, not as usual in the sense of *lot*, but of 'shaking'. Lindau's view (mentioned by Firnh.) that *πάτῳ* denoted *tread* (cf. Plut. *Mor.* p. 670 B) is worth considering—*σῶ προσοῦδισας πάτῳ*, 'crushed to the ground with

1147. *παρῳδοῖς*] apparently *distorted*, or *distorting*. In this adj., which does not seem to occur elsewhere, the main significance lies in the *παρά*. Euripides uses the adjectives *ἀπωδός*, *ἐπωδός*, and *προσπιδός* in a somewhat similar figurative sense: the commonest of them is *συνπιδός*. —Vitelli cps. Aesch. *Ag.* 1183 *φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων*.

1148. *πρῶτον μὲν*] Weil's note is: "Clytemnestre remonte bien haut. Mais dans les querelles entre personnes qui vivent ensemble, les femmes, et même les hommes, ont assez l'habitude de revenir, avant d'arriver au fait, sur d'anciens griefs et de se décharger de tout ce qu'ils avaient sur le cœur depuis longtemps. Euripide était excellent observateur". For the parenthetic *ἵνα* clause cp. above

on v. 320.

1149 f. Eustathius quotes these verses in his commentary on λ 430, observing that Homer knew nothing of any previous marriage of Cly. (Brodeau).

*Τάνταλον*] This was a son of Thyestes not mentioned in all accounts of the house of Atreus: Musgrave and others refer to Pausanias.

1151. Vitelli refers to Hdt. i. 155 where Cyrus says *ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι, ὥς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτεῖνας τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσαιο*, and the line of Stasinus *νήπιος δς πατέρα κτεῖνας παῖδας καταλείπει*, also to *Androm.* 519 ff., and *Herc. Fur.* 166 ff.—The Ionic *προσοῦδίζειν* is supported by the frequent use of *οὔδας* in tragedy.

καὶ τῷ Διὸς σε παῖδ' ἐμὸν δὲ συγγόνῳ  
 ἵπποισι μαρμαίρουτ' ἐπεστρατευσάτην.  
 πατὴρ δὲ πρέσβυς Τυνδάρεώς σ' ἐρρύσατο 1155  
 ἰκέτην γενόμενον, τὰμὰ δ' ἔσχεσ αὖ λέχη.  
 οὐ δὴ καταλλαχθεῖσα περὶ σέ καὶ δόμους  
 συμμαρτυρήσεις ὡς ἄμεμπτος ἦ γυνή,  
 εἷς τ' Ἀφροδίτην σωφρονοῦσα καὶ τὸ σὸν 1160  
 μέλαθρον αὔξουσ', ὥστε σ' εἰσιόντα τε  
 χαίρειν θύραζε τ' ἐξιόντ' εὐδαιμονεῖν.  
 σπάνιον δὲ θήρευν' ἀνδρὶ τοιαύτην λαβεῖν  
 δάμαρτα· φλαῦραν δ' οὐ σπάνις γυναικ' ἔχειν.  
 τίκτω δ' ἐπὶ τρισὶ παρθένοισι παῖδά σοι.  
 τῶνδ' οὖν μίᾳς σὺ τλημόνως μ' ἀποστρεφεῖς. 1165

thy tread',—i.e. 'beneath thy foot'. 1153. Διὸς γε PL, Διὸς σε Markl.—ἐμὸν τε PL. In two similar cases, at *Med.* 970 and at *Andr.* 25, where we have two designations of the same person, Elmsley substituted δέ for the MSS. τε, and so Matthiae ἐμὸν δέ here. 1157. οὐ σοι PL. I have ventured to bring this passage into agreement with others (c.g. *I. T.* 320, Plato *Menex.* 243 c) where οὐ is used for 'thereupon' in a narrative, by assuming that the (unnecessary) σοι is a mistake for δὴ. τοι was very near δὴ in mediaeval pronunciation, and may well have formed the bridge from δὴ to σοι. Or δὴ may have been wilfully altered to σοι by some scribe who took οὐ literally as ἐν τῷ λέχει. 1160. ὥστ' εἰσιόντα PL, ὥστε σ' εἰσιόντα Canter. 1162 f. Conington (*Class. Mus.* II. 108) was the first to throw doubts on this passage, but he confined them properly to 1163. Dind. suspects both, and Hennig condemns them as "*ab aliquo grammatico inventa*" or "*aliunde sumpta*", because he cannot believe that Euripides ever allowed three consecutive lines to end in the same syllable. The *τοιαύτην* shows that the *vv.* were composed to come after some such description as that of *vv.* 1158—1161. If any of the passage be rejected I think it should be only 1163, but I cannot think Hennig's ground strong enough, especially in view of the pause after *v.* 1161. 1163. φλαῦραν PL, corrected by a late hand in P to φλαύραν. 1164. ἐπὶ τρισὶ PL. This seems to have been corrected in the earliest editions. 1165. τῶνδ', ὦν PL. The view expressed often above that Orestes was not present at all during this tragedy necessitates the excision of this τῶνδ', which in itself is awkward, coming just before the ὦν. I have put

1154. ἵπποισι μαρμαίρουτ'] For the form of the phrase cf. *Androm.* 1146 ἔστη φαεινοῖς δεσπότης στίλβων ὅπλοις, and *Phoen.* 113 πολλοῖς μὲν ἵπποις μυρίοις δ' ὅπλοις βρέμων.

1156. αὖ] This implies that the Dioscuri had taken Cly. away from Agamemnon.

1157. περὶ σέ] The same use of the

prep. below at 1184.

1160. μέλαθρον] for the length of the second syllable cf. above *v.* 685 and *Tro.* 651.

1165. τῶνδ' οὖν] The emphatic position of the τῶνδ' serves to point out that it was a second case in which Ag. had taken a child from her.

κἄν τις σ' ἔρηται τίνος ἑκατί νιν κτενεῖς,  
 λέξον, τί φήσεις; ἢ 'μὲ χρηὸν λέγειν τὰ σά;  
 Ἑλένην Μενέλεως ἵνα λάβῃ. καλὸν γέ τοι  
 κακῆς γυναικὸς μισθὸν ἀποτείσσεις τέκνα.  
 ταῖχιστα τοῖσι φιλτάτοις ὠνούμεθα.  
 ἄγ', ἣν στρατεύσῃ, [καταλιπὼν μ' ἐν δώμασιν,  
 κακῇ γενήσῃ] διὰ μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας  
 τίν' ἐν δόμοις με καρδίαν ἔξειν δοκεῖς,

1170

a stop at the end of v. 1164 and read here τῶνδ' ὀνν. 1167. ἢ 'μὲ (the apostrophe perhaps not by the first hand) P, ἢ με L. 1168. Μενέλαος PL, Μενέλεως Dobree.—γένος PL. All editors but Firnhaber (who also keeps ταχθεῖσα in 1170) agree that this is corrupt. Most corrections have consisted in putting some other substantive in its place, and supplying ἐστὶ with it. I think Fix's γέ τοι (adopted by Nauck, Paley, Weil and Headlam) is the best of the guesses because, among other reasons, it leaves it open to us to take καλὸν with μισθὸν in the next v. where see note. 1169. ἀποτίσαι PL, and so all editors before Herm. who gives ἀποτίσαι. I believe καλὸν μισθὸν go together (the καλὸν being contrasted with κακῆς), and have therefore written ἀποτείσσεις, to which the accent of ἀποτίσαι gives some support. 1170. ταχθεῖσα PL, ταῖχιστα Stiblinus, whence ταῖχιστα Brodeau, approved by Canter, Scaliger and Milton. (I am in some doubt whether we ought not, following the suggestion of Musgrave's ὠνούμενω, to read ὠνούμενος as the end of the v., putting a comma at the end of the previous verse; but the asyndeton is impressive, and the first person plural is perhaps useful as an introduction to Cly.'s own case, which she proceeds to consider.) Conington was for rejecting the v. altogether. 1171 f. I agree with Conington that we ought to reject καταλιπὼν...γενήσῃ. The γενήσῃ as an aor. is a false form. κατ. κ.τ.λ. is out of place. There had been no question of Cly. going with Agamemnon, and the ἐν δώμασιν makes the ἐν δόμοις of 1173 a useless repetition. Elmsley certainly mends the passage by substituting εἰ for the MSS. ἣν and taking the verbs to be futures (which γενήσῃ may have been meant to be: see on v. 1186), but I prefer Conington's treatment of the passage. I further think that διὰ μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας will not go with στρατεύσῃ any better than with γενήσῃ. I have therefore put a comma at στρατεύσῃ, and no stop at the end of the v. (The interpolator apparently by ἐκεῖ meant Argos

1168 f. καλὸν γέ τοι κ.τ.λ.] 'In your child' (i.e. 'in sacrificing your child'), 'you will be paying a good price for a bad woman'.

1170. Canter and others quote Cassandra's words at *Tro.* 370 ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ὁ σοφὸς ἐχθίστων ὑπὲρ τὰ φίλτατα ὦλεσ', ἡδονὰς τὰς οἰκοθεν τέκνων ἀδελφῶ δούς γυναικὸς εἵνεκα (where I would suggest that τέκνων is perhaps an explanation of τὰς οἰκοθεν which has ousted κακῆς or some such epithet of γυναικὸς).

1172 f. τίν' κ.τ.λ.] 'How, think you, shall I feel, as the dreary hours go by?' There is perhaps also a reference in διὰ μ. ἀπ. to Iphigeneia's long absence as well as that of her father, but the primary reference is to the absence of Ag. and we must therefore, literally translating, say 'throughout *your* long absence'. Cp. Plat. *Rep.* 492 C ἐν δὴ τοιούτῳ τὸν νέον, τὸ λεγόμενον, τίνα οἶει καρδίαν ἰσχεῖν; The τὸ λεγόμενον points, I think, to the fact that these lines were commonly quoted,

ὅταν θρόνους μὲν τῇσδε προσβλέπω κενούς,  
 κενούς δὲ παρθενώνας, ἐπὶ δὲ δακρύους 1175  
 μόνῃ καθῶμαι, τήνδε θρηνῶδοῦς' αἶ.  
 [ἀπώλεσέν σ', ὦ τέκνον, ὃ φιτεύσας πατήρ,  
 αὐτὸς κτανών, οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδ' ἄλλῃ χερί,  
 τοιόνδε μισθὸν καταλιπὼν πρὸς τοὺς δόμους.]  
 ἐπεὶ βραχείας προφάσεως ἔδει μόνον, 1180  
 ἐφ' ἣ σ' ἐγὼ καὶ παῖδες αἱ λελειμμένοι  
 δεξόμεθα δέξιν ἣν σε δέξασθαι χρεών.

and used *διὰ* in the sense of *after*.) The first hand in P wrote *δόμασιν*. 1174. *ὅταν θρόνους τῇσδ' εἰσὶδω πάντας κενούς* PL. This line is quoted in Apsines, *Rhet. Gr.* IX. 502 (593 Walz) *ὅταν δόμους μὲν τοῖσδε προσίδω κενούς*. I think Weil is right in restoring *ὅταν θρόνους μὲν τῇσδε προσβλέπω κενούς*. *δόμους* (cf. C. N. on *v.* 583) and *τοῖσδε* are slips of memory:—*τοῖσδε* could not have been put here by anyone who remembered that Cly. was speaking at Aulis and not at Argos; nor could *δόμους* μὲν have been spoken by anyone who remembered that *κενούς* δὲ *παρθενώνας* is immediately contrasted with it. These two errors our MSS. fortunately correct for us, but *προσίδω* for *προσβλέπω* they apparently shared, and most likely *τῇσδ' εἰσὶδω πάντας κενούς* is an attempt to correct the metre of *τῇσδε προσίδω κενούς*. The *πάντας* is painfully redundant. 1176. *κάθημαι* PL, *καθῶμαι* Elmsley. 1177—1178. I think these lines are an interpolation. It has been noticed above (in the Critical Note on *vv.* 804—818) that one of the interpolators is fond of speeches within speeches. The greatest difficulty is presented by *v.* 1179. Monk declared it to be spurious. The favourite explanation of it is that a verse has been lost which originally followed it containing *πάλιν ἀφίξει*, which went with *πρὸς τοὺς δόμους*. 1177. *ἀπώλεσέ σ'* PL, *ἀπώλεσέν σ'* early edd.—*φυτεύσας* PL, *φιτεύσας* Elmsley, which improves the metre. At *Alc.* 294 all the MSS. but one have the more familiar *φυτεύσειν* though it is there metrically impossible. 1180. *ἔδει μόνον* PL, *ἔνδει μόνον* Reiske and Markland, *δεοίμεθ'* ἄν Hennig. *ἔνδει* is largely adopted, but I believe *ἔδει* to be sound: see Expl. Notes. 1181. *καὶ* PL, *χαί* Markl. 1182. *δεξόμεθα* PL with the *σ*

and this is borne out by the quotation of *v.* 1174 by Apsines. (See Crit. Notes.) Weil cps. the similar expression of Dem. *Contra Aphobum* II. p. 842 *τίνα οἴεσθε αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ἔξιν ὅταν ἐμὲ μὲν κ.τ.λ.*;

1174. It is better to take *τῇσδε* as dependent on *κενούς* than on *θρόνους*. For the corresponding use of the opposite *μεστός* cf. *I. T.* 804 *τὸ δ' "Ἀργος αὐτοῦ μεστόν ἢ τε Ναυπλία*. Cf. *Alc.* 945 f., *Suppl.* 1095.

1175. *ἐπὶ δὲ δακρύοις*] *ἐπὶ* here with the dat. has the notion of prospect or purpose: 'with nothing to do but weep'.

1180. *ἐπεὶ*] With this word Cly. follows up the hint given in 1173 that her feelings would prompt her to revenge.

*ἔδει*] Your previous conduct (as described in *vv.* 1149—1152) has been such that we *were already inclined* to treat you as an enemy. This is I think the explanation of the impf., and *δεξόμεθα* in *v.* 1182 is a 'vivid' future instead of the more regular *δεχοίμεθα*, and is all the more in place here as it implies that the vengeance may yet be taken.

1182. See Expl. N. on *v.* 649, and



μὴ δῆτα πρὸς θεῶν μῆτ' ἀναγκάσης ἐμὲ  
κακὴν γενέσθαι περὶ σέ, μῆτ' αὐτὸς γένῃ.  
εἶεν·

θύσεις δὲ παῖδ'· ἐνταῦθα τίνας εὐχὰς ἐρεῖς; 1185

τί σοι κατεύξει τὰγαθόν, σφάζων τέκνον;  
νόστον πονηρόν, οἴκοθέν γ' αἰσχροῦς ἰών;  
ἀλλ' ἐμὲ δίκαιον ἀγαθὸν εὐχεσθαί τί σοι;  
οὐ τάρᾳ συνετῶς τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγοίμεθ' ἄν,  
εἰ τοῖσιν αὐθένταισιν εὖ φρονήσομεν. 1190

crased in L. 1185. θύσεις δὲ παῖδ'· ἐνθα τίνας εὐχὰς ἐρεῖς; PL, but in L a corrector inserts τὴν before παῖδ', and the ἐν is in an erasure. This is, I think, an indication that the same corrector who put in the τὴν changed ἐνταῦθα into ἐνθα. To account for the ἐνθα of P we must suppose that both ἐνθα and ἐνταῦθα were written in the ms. from which P and L were copied. The τὴν seems to have been inserted in the early editions independently of the corrector of L. It is extraordinary that a long series of editors saw nothing wrong in ἐνθα. The δέ, if it be sound, must be explained as a weak δῆ. There is much to recommend Nauck's version of the v.: εἶεν· σὺ θύσεις παῖδα· τίνας εὐχὰς ἐρεῖς; 1186. κατεύξει PL (so often the ending of the sec. pers. mid. and pass. of principal tenses), in P γενέσθαι σοι δῆλον is written over it.—In L there is an erasure before σφάζων which Vitelli thinks contained ὁ. 1187. πονηρόν PL, ἀπόνητον F. W. Schmidt. Monk considers the line an importation. 1189. οὐτ' ἄρ' ἀσυνέτους PL. I have ventured to read οὐ τάρᾳ συνετῶς. I think ἡγοίμεθ' was used absolutely as at *Bacch.* 1326 ἡγείσθω θεοὺς and *Hec.* 800 τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγούμεθα, and that -τῶς was assimilated by mistake to the foll. τοὺς. It is a question whether we should read οὐ τάρ' ἀσυνέτως interrogatively or οὐ τάρᾳ συνετῶς without the ;. Though at vv. 1187, 1188 and 1191 P has the ; (due to a later hand than the first), at 1190 it is omitted, as also in the early edd. Monk prefers ἡ τάρ' because he doubts whether οὗτοι can be used interrogatively. εὖ φρονήσομεν PL,

cf. *Bacchae* 955 κρύψει σὺ κρύψιν ἣν σε κρυφθῆναι χρεών.

1186. τὰγαθόν] The following v. shows this to be used ironically (and this meaning is helped by the possible similar use of κατεύχομαι which is often used of imprecations): much as at *Soph. Ant.* 275.

1187. I think it is doubtful whether we ought to read this v. as a question. The sense seems to be: 'that your home-coming may match your out-going'. 'That', she implies, 'would be a fit prayer'. Hennig and Vitelli prefer to take νόστον in the sense in which it is used in v. 1261 below, i.e. of the journey

to Troy; but I think the juxtaposition of οἴκοθεν rather makes for the interpretation given above.

1188. 'So much for you: have I any right to pray for any blessing for you?' There is no need with Nauck to put emphasis on the σοι (τι σοί).

1189. 'We shall be foolish to believe in the gods and at the same time to take the side of unnatural male-factors'. Cf. *Hcl.* 919 where Helen says to Theonoe: εἰ δ' οὐσα μάντις καὶ τὰ θεῶν ἡγουμένη τὸ μὲν δίκαιον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφθερεῖς, τῷ δ' οὐ δικαίῳ συγγόνῳ δώσεις χάριν, αἰσχρὸν τὰ μὲν σε θεῖα πάντ' ἐξειδέναι, τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μῆ, τὰ δὲ δίκαια μὴ εἶδέναι.

ἦκων δ' ἂν Ἄργος προσπέσοις τέκνοισι σοῖς;  
ἀλλ' οὐ θέμις σοι. τίς δὲ καὶ προσβλέψεται  
παίδων σ', ἵν' αὐτῶν προσέμενος κτάνης τινά;  
ταύτ' ἦλθες ἥδη διὰ λόγων, ἢ σκῆπτρά σοι

εὐφρον' ἄσομεν Musgrave, εὐφρον' ἤσομεν Dobree and Weil. 1191—1193. Hennig rejects these *vv.* partly because of the unmetrical form in which 1193 occurs in the MSS. (see below), but mainly because they seem to him to interrupt the line of argument. He thinks that 1194 ff. refer to the suggestion Cly. has just made that Agamemnon could not hope for good fortune on his journey (as he takes *νόστος*) if he did such a wicked deed at starting. But 1196 ff. show that she was not then urging the inexpediency of the deed, but the unfairness (*v.* 1299) that he should be the only sufferer. Hennig admits that the *iniquity* would be the same whoever sacrificed his daughter, but says Cly., being a woman and a mother, could not be expected to be logical enough to see this, where her own child's safety was concerned. This is very special pleading. 1191. *εἰς* PL, *ἐς* Ald.—*προσπέσης* PL, *προσπεσεῖ* Musgrave, *προσπέσοις* Ald. This I think is the right reading (*η* and *αι* are often interchanged), and therefore read *ἂν* for the unmetrical *εἰς*. Very possibly *ἂν* was mistaken for *ἀνὰ* with the *α* elided and altered to *εἰς*. 1193. *ἐὰν αὐτῶν προθέμενος* PL, *ἐὰν σφῶν π.* Reiske, *ἵν' αὐτῶν προέμενος* Elmsley, *ἵν' αὐτῶν προσέμενος* Weil. Hennig thinks the original composer of the *v.* thought that both syllables of *ἐάν* were short. It is more likely that this mistake was made by a foolish corrector, who could only see a reference to Iphigeneia's case, which in her argument Cly. has at *v.* 1185 supposed already settled. *προσέμενος* comes nearer to the MSS. *προθέμενος*, of which it is a very possible *mispronunciation*, and gives a very natural sense, especially after *προσβλέψεται*. 1194. *ἦλθ'* PL, corrected, V. says, by the first hand in L to *ἦλθεν*, *ἦλθον* Ald., *ἦλθες* Herm.: the *-ες* was very possibly written above the line, and escaped the notice of a scribe, who understood by the words (as L did) 'has this entered

1191. Cly. conducts her husband in imagination stage by stage through the consequences of his action.—*ἦκειν* is very often used of a *return*.—The position of the *ἂν* is peculiar here (see Crit. N.), but not impossible, I think. A somewhat similar instance is Soph. *O. T.* 285 f. *παρ' οὗ τις ἂν σκοπῶν τάδ', ὦναξ, ἐκμά-θοι σαφέστατα*. The best explanation here, at all events, is that the writer began as if he were going to put *τινὸς ἂν's*, but left the second out. (It must be remembered that the *προσπέσης* of the MSS. points to *προσπέσοις* more clearly than to anything else, and if we have *προσπέσοις* we must have an *ἂν* somewhere; also that the Ἄργος can do very well without *ἐς*.)

1192 f. *καί*] The same *καί* of *animated questions* which was noticed above on *v.* 327. 'What child *will* greet you, pray, when it knows that death will follow your embrace?'—lit. 'in order that, taking her to your bosom, you may kill her'.—*προσβλέψεται*] 'meet you with a look', cf. above *v.* 1122. This I think is a more likely meaning of the Gk words than 'even look at you'.

1194. *διὰ λόγων ἐλθεῖν*] might equally well mean *to discuss* (with another, or before an audience), or *to consider* (with oneself, in one's own mind), according to the meaning of *λόγος* in either case. Vitelli says if the phrase is to have the latter meaning the reflexive pronoun must be expressed. The only reason he gives

μόνον διαφέρειν καὶ στρατηλατεῖν μέλει; 1195  
 ὃν χρῆν δίκαιον λόγον ἐν Ἀργείοις λέγειν·  
 βούλεσθ', Ἀχαιοί, πλεῖν Φρυγῶν ἐπὶ χθόνα;  
 κλήρον τίθεσθε παῖδ' ὅτου θανεῖν χρεών.  
 ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ ἦν τόδ', ἀλλὰ μὴ σ' ἐξαίρετον  
 σφάγιον παρασχεῖν Δαναΐδαισι παῖδα σήν, 1200  
 ἢ Μενέλεων πρὸ μητρὸς Ἑρμιόνην κτανεῖν,  
 οὐπὲρ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἦν. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἢ τὸ σὸν  
 σφάζουσα λέκτρον παιδὸς ἐστερήσομαι,  
 ἢ δ' ἐξαμαρτοῦσ', ὑπότροφον νεάνιδα

into your calculation?' 1195. σε δεῖ PL. But this can hardly stand after the σοι in 1194. Monk proposed to read σά for σοι, I think the better change is to read μέλει here with Musgrave. A simple mistake of Δ for Λ would give με δεῖ, which would be certainly corrected to σε δεῖ. (Vitelli reads σά and σ' ἔδει, agreeing with Hennig that ταῦτα means *the arguments against the expedition*, and that ἦλθες διὰ λόγων means '*expounded in speech*'. If I took this view I should prefer to read τοι for σοι.) 1196. χρῆ PL, χρῆν Reiske and Markland. 1199. μὴ σ' PL and early edd., μὴ σ' Herm. 1201. πρὸς PL, πρὸ Scaliger. 1203. ὑστερήσομαι PL, ἐστερήσομαι Pors., παῖδ' ἀποστερήσομαι Markland. 1204. ὑπόστροφον P, ὑπότροφον L, ὑπόροφον Scaliger (cf. *Orest.* 147), ὑπότροπος Heath. Monk says that as the schol. on χ 35 [and Hesych. s. v. ὑπότροπος] gives ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς as an explanation of ὑπότροπον, it is likely that the same explanation written here over the v. gave rise to ὑπόστροφον, of which ὑπότροφον was a modification. But νεάνιδα cannot do without an adj. If ὑπότροπος were read, we should have to transpose νεάνιδα and

is that at *Med.* 872 ἐγὼ δ' ἐμμαντῇ διὰ λόγων ἀφικόμεν the pronoun is so expressed. I cannot see that the difference in the meaning of λόγος matters at all to the question whether the dat. is to be expressed or not. I therefore consider ταῦτ' ἦ. ἦ. δ. λ. here as equivalent to ἥδη διελόγισα ταῦτα;

1195. διαφέρειν] lit. 'bear always about with you': "*gestare*" Heath.—Agamemnon has shown above, that the fear of losing his high position is stronger with him than any other motive. Cf. Menelaus' taunt above at *vv.* 354 ff.

1196. ὃν] certainly does not agree with λόγον, but refers to Ag. and provides an animated transition to another thought: 'why, you ought to have &c.'

1199 f. ἐν ἴσῳ ἦν τόδ'] 'That was a fair course'. The imperf. ἦν is of the same kind as that in χρῆν just above, and ἔδει at v. 1180. εἶκος ἦν at *Thuc.* vi. 78. 4. Cf. Menander 19 ἀπλοῦν γὰρ ἦν, *Xen. An.* vii. 7. 40 αἰσχροῦν ἦν (*Krüger* 53, 2, 7).—Most edd. take παρασχεῖν in the following v. as depending on χρῆν. In this case ἐν ἴ. γ. ἦ. τ. would be a parenthesis. I think it depends on ἐν ἴσῳ ἦν. The full expression would have been ἐν ἴσῳ ἦν τοὺς μὲν Ἀχαιοὺς κληροῦσθαι, σὲ δὲ μὴ παρασχεῖν, κ.τ.λ.

1201. κτανεῖν] This must be taken to depend on the χρῆν of v. 1196.

1202. οὐπὲρ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἦν] '*His* concern it was, not yours'.

Σπάρτη κομίζουσ', εὐτυχῆς γενήσεται. 1205

τούτων ἄμειψαί μ' εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς λέγω·

εἰ δ' εὖ λέλεκται μετανόει δὴ μὴ κτανεῖν

τὴν σὴν τε καμὴν παῖδα, καὶ σώφρων ἔσει.

ΧΟ. πιθοῦ. τὸ γάρ τοι τέκνα συνσώζειν καλόν,  
'Αγάμεμνον· οὐδεὶς τοῖσδ' ἂν ἀντίποι βροτῶν. 1210

ΙΦ. εἰ μὲν τὸν Ὀρφέως εἶχον, ὦ πάτερ, λόγον  
πείθειν ἐπάδουσ', ὥσθ' ὀμαρτεῖν μοι πέτρας,  
κηλεῖν τε τοῖς λόγοισιν οὓς ἐβουλόμεν,  
ἐνταῦθ' ἂν ἦλθον. νῦν δὲ τάπ' ἐμοῦ σοφά,

γενήσεται and read εὐτυχῇ.

1206.

In P a late hand wrote *ον* over *αι*, i.e. it suggested *ἀμείψον* for *ἀμειψαί* μ'.

1207.

*εἰ δ' εὖ λέλεκται νῶι μὴ δὴ γε κτάνης* PL, only P wrote *νῶ* to which a late hand added an *ι*. In L there is an erasure after *νῶι* which V. says contained a *κ*. *νῶι μὴ δὴ γε* is evidently a clumsy piece of stuffing. What Euripides wrote has gone. A better stop-gap would be *τάμα* (Elmsley) *τὴνδε μὴ*. (*νῶι* as a disyllable and a dative occurs also in our texts of Theocritus, XII. 166.) Heimsoeth conj. *μετανόει δὴ μὴ κτανεῖν*: this assumes, and possibly rightly, that the syllables *νῶι* have some authority. At the same time it helps the *καὶ σώφρων ἔσει* in the next *v*., which follows better on *μετανόει* than on the simple *μὴ κτάνης*. I have therefore followed Weil and Headlam in adopting it.

1209. *συνσώζειν* PL, *σοι σώζειν* Nauck.

1210. *πρὸς τὰδ'*

*ἀντίποι* PL, *ἀντερεῖ* Elmsl., but Burges' and Monk's *τοῖσδ' ἂν ἀντίποι* admits of a ready explanation of the error of the MSS., i.e. that the *ἂν* was omitted owing to the following *ἀν*- and that to help out the metre *τοῖσδ'* was changed to *πρὸς τὰδ'*.

1214.

*ἀνῆλθον* PL, corrected by a fairly early hand in P to *ἂν ἦλθον*.

1205. *κομίζουσ'*] Has here its early Epic sense, unusual in Tragedy, of *keep safe*: the word was doubtless chosen here for variety's sake because *σώζουσα* has just been used above in *v*. 1203. Bothe cps. *Heracl.* 91 *τοῦ ποτ' ἐν χειρὶ σᾶ κομίζεις κόρους νεοτρεφεῖς*;

1206. *τούτων*] depends on *εἴ τι*.—For the acc. of the person after *ἀμειψαί* cf. *Suppl.* 517 *καὶ πρῶτα μὲν σε πρὸς τὰ πρῶτ' ἀμείψομαι* and *Or.* 608.

1209. If *συνσώζειν* is correct here it must mean *help* (your wife) *to rescue*. At *Hel.* 1388 it means *rescue along with another*.

1211 ff. It is best to take *πείθειν* and *κηλεῖν* as dependent on *εἶχον* (if *I were able*), and *λόγον* as governed by *ἐπάδουσ'*. At the only other place where *ἐπαιδεῖν* occurs in Eur. (*El.* 864) it has an acc.

(*ψδάν*), and at Plat. *Rep.* 608 A we have *ἐπάδοντες ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὃν λέγομεν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπωδήν*.—*ὥσθ' ὀμαρτεῖν* depends directly on *πείθειν*. The analogy of the similar passage in the *Alcestis* (357, where too the apodosis *κατῆλθον ἂν* is curiously like the *ἐνταῦθ' ἂν ἦλθον* here) might lead us at first sight to take *λόγον* as governed by *εἶχον*, and so those editors who put a comma after *λόγον* seem to have taken it.

1213. *ἐβουλόμεν*] quite regularly in the same tense as *εἶχον*. So at *I. T.* 354 *εἴθε...Διόθεν ἦλθε...πορθμῖς, ἥτις...ἀπήγαγ'*. It is the same sort of imperf. as that which is used with final particles to denote an unfulfilled purpose in past time.

1214. *ἐνταῦθ' ἂν ἦλθον*] 'I would have taken that way'.



δάκρυα παρέξω· ταῦτα γὰρ δυνάιμεθ' ἄν. 1215  
 ἰκετηρίαν δὲ γόνασιν ἐξάπτω σέθεν  
 τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν, ὅπερ ἔτικτεν ἦδε σοι,  
 μή μ' ἀπολέσης ἄωρον· ἡδὺ γὰρ τὸ φῶς  
 λεύσσειν· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς μή μ' ἰδεῖν ἀναγκάσης.  
 πρώτη σ' ἐκάλεσα πατέρα καὶ σὺ παῖδ' ἐμέ· 1220  
 πρώτη δὲ γόνασι σοῖσι σῶμα δοῦσ' ἐμόν  
 φίλας χάριτας ἔδωκα κἀντεδεξάμην.  
 λόγος δ' ὁ μὲν σὸς ἦν ὅδ'· ἄρά σ', ὦ τέκνον,  
 εὐδαίμον' ἀνδρὸς ἐν δόμοισιν ὄψομαι,  
 ζῶσάν τε καὶ θάλλουσαν ἀξίως ἐμοῦ; 1225  
 οὐμός δ' ὅδ' ἦν αὖ περὶ σὸν ἐξαρτωμένης  
 γένειον, οὐ νῦν ἀντιλάζυμαι χερί·  
 τί δ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ σέ; πρέσβυν ἄρ' εἰσδέξομαι  
 ἐμῶν φίλαισιν ὑποδοχαῖς δόμων, πάτερ,

1215. δυνάιμεθα PL, δυνάιμεθ' ἄν Markl. 1219. βλέπειν· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς PL, λεύσσειν· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ γῆν Plut. *de Aud. Poet.* 17 D. "Omnino legendum Λεύσσειν cuius scholium est βλέπειν". Pors. As to the case with ὑπὸ Matthiae on *Hec.* 144 (147) says: "*Vulgaris consuetudo posceret τοὺς ὑπὸ γῆς ὄντας, exquisitius est τοὺς ὑπὸ γῆν*". He cps. Hdt. II. 127, and Aesch. *Eum.* 952, and *Alc.* 896. 1221. γούνασι PL, γόνασι Barnes. (So at *Andr.* 895 L and some other mss. have γούνασιν, such a mistake is the mark of a scribe used to copying Homer. In *Andr.* 892 γουνάτων is demanded by the metre, but L and the two best mss. have γονάτων.)—δοῦσ' PL. Monk, commenting on the awkwardness of δοῦσ' followed closely by ἔδωκα, suggests ἀφείσ'. 1224. εὐδαίμονος ἀνδρὸς PL, εὐδαιμονοῦντος Matthiae, εὐδαίμον' ἀνδρὸς Pierson. 1227. νυν P, νῦν L, ἀντιλάζομαι PL, ἀντιλάζυμαι Markl. Cp. Pors. on *Med.* 1213

νῦν δὲ τὰπ' ἐμοῦ σοφά, δάκρυα παρέξω]  
 'Mais, pour toute science, je t'apporte  
 mes larmes'. Fix and Le Bas.

1216. For the idea cf. *Heracl.* 226  
 ἀλλ' ἀντομαί σε καὶ καταστέφω χεροῖν,  
 and *Andr.* 894 στεμμάτων δ' οὐχ ἥσ-  
 σονας σοῖς προστίθηνι γόνασιν ὠλένας  
 ἐμάς, *Or.* 383 ἀφύλλου στόματος ἐξάπτων  
 λιτάς, in which the ἀφύλλου στόματος is  
 explained by Hesychius to mean ἀνευ  
 ἰκετηρίας. For the dat. γόνασιν with  
 ἐξάπτω we are referred to *Tro.* 1208  
 κόσμον ἐξάπτειν νεκρῷ.

1220. Cp. Lucr. I. 93 f. *Nec miserae  
 prodesset in tali tempore quibat quod patrio  
 princeps donarat nomine regem.*

1221. δοῦσ'] seems to express the  
 willingness with which she took her place  
 on her father's knee. But the expression  
 is peculiar, more particularly as ἔδωκα  
 follows closely in the same sentence.  
 M. Patin translates: "*penchée sur les  
 genoux*".

1222. φίλας χάριτας] 'fondling ca-  
 resses'.

1224. ἀνδρὸς] 'a husband's'.

1226. ἐξαρτωμένης] agrees with the  
 ἐμοῦ which is implied in οὐμός.

1228. The early edd. put the ; after  
 πρέσβυν (and so Porson), Markl. after σέ,  
 Firnh. after δ'.

πόνων τιθνηοὺς ἀποδιδούσά σοι τροφάς; 1230  
 τούτων ἐγὼ μὲν τῶν λόγων μνήμην ἔχω,  
 σὺ δ' ἐπιλέλῃσαι, καί μ' ἀποκτείνειν θέλεις.  
 μὴ πρὸς σε Πέλοπος καὶ πρὸς Ἀτρέως πατρός  
 καὶ τῆσδε μητρός, ἣ πρὶν ὠδίνουσ' ἐμέ  
 νῦν δευτέραν ὠδῖνα τήνδε λαμβάνει. 1235  
 τί μοι μέτεστι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμων  
 Ἑλένης τε; πόθεν ἦλθ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ μῳ, πάτερ;  
 βλέψον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὄμμα δὸς φίλημά τε,  
 ἵν' ἀλλὰ τοῦτο καθθαινοῦς' ἔχω σέθεν  
 [μνημεῖον, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πεισθῆς λόγοις. 1240  
 ἀδελφέ, μικρὸς μὲν σύ γ' ἐπίκουρος φίλοις,  
 ὅμως δὲ συνδάκρυσον, ἱκέτευσον πατρός  
 τὴν σὴν ἀδελφὴν μὴ θανεῖν· αἴσθημά τοι

(1216). 1233. γε PL, σε Markland. 1234. τῆς γε P, τῆσδε L. 1240.  
 I have no hesitation in following Nauck in rejecting this *v.* For the *σέθεν* in *v.* 1239  
 cf. above 995 ταῦτα τεύξομαι σέθεν, and Krüger II. 47, 14, 3.—εἰ...πεισθῆς PL, εἰ  
 πείθει Pors., ἦν...πεισθῆς Matthiae, εἰ...πείσει Elmsl. (which Weil defends, saying  
 πεισθῆς arose out of πεισθήσει [a gloss on πείσει]). But, grammar apart, whatever  
 the previous *v.* gains from the *μνημεῖον* is more than counterbalanced by the  
 weakening of the pathetic *καθθαινοῦς'* by the words which follow *μνημεῖον*. 1241  
 —1248. These stage-manager's lines on the 'small auxiliary' must go with the  
 rest of the references to him. The gen. *πατρός*, the otiose and even confusing *γε* in  
 1244, the senseless *βίον* in 1246, and the disjointed concluding couplet:—all help to  
 attest the authorship of the passage. 1242. σὺν δάκρυσιν P, συνδάκρυσον L.  
 1243. αἴσθημά τοι PL, with the *ο* erased in L and crossed through by a late hand

1230. *πόνων*] an adjectival genitive  
 =the English 'devoted', qualifying *τι-*  
*θνηοὺς τροφάς*. Weil cps. Aesch. *P. V.*  
 900 *δυσπλάνοις ἀλατείαις πόνων*. Cp.  
 1 Timothy v. 4 *μανθανέτωσαν...ἀμοιβὰς*  
*ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς προγόνοις*.

1235. *δευτέραν ὠδῖνα*] Cp. Galatians  
 iv. 19 *τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω ἄχρις*  
*οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν*. For *λαμ-*  
*βάνειν ὠδῖνα* in the sense of *ὠδίνειν* cf.  
 above *v.* 1124 *λαβεῖν ἀρχήν* for *ἄρχεσθαι*,  
 and *Συβρίλ.* 1050 *ὀργὴν λάβοις ἂν*. The  
 present is here used in the sense of 'is on  
 the point of incurring'.

1237. *πόθεν ἦλθ'*] must be explained  
 with Brodeau and Hermann 'How is it  
 that he (*i.e.* Paris) came?' For this

common use of *πόθεν* see L. and S. s. v.  
 1. 4.—*ἐπ'* ὀλέθρῳ. For a different sense  
 of *ἐπὶ* c. dat. cf. above *v.* 456 f.

1238. *ἡμᾶς*] *i.e.* Cly. and Iph. For  
 the first part of this *v.* cf. *v.* 320, and for  
 the last part cf. *v.* 679.—*ὄμμα δὸς*] It is  
 possible that this does not, like *προσέσχον*  
*ὄμμα* at *H. F.* 931, mean 'turn your eyes  
 on us', but 'give us your *face*' (to kiss).

1239. *ἀλλὰ τοῦτο*] 'This, if nothing  
 else'. With the whole line *H. F.* 331  
 has aptly been compared: *ὥς ἀλλὰ ταῦτά*  
*γ' ἀπολάχως* ὄκων *πατρός*. See Crit. N.  
 on *v.* 1240.

1241. *μικρὸς ἐπίκουρος*] Cp. *Bacch.*  
 1367 *μικρὸς ἐπίκουρος πατήρ*.

κὰν νηπίοις γε τῶν κακῶν ἐγγίγνεται.

ἰδοὺ σιωπῶν λίσσεται σ' ὄδ', ὦ πάτερ.

1245

ἀλλ' αἰδεσαί με καὶ κατοίκτιρον βίον.

ναί, πρὸς γενεῖον σ' ἀντόμεσθα δύο φίλω·

ὃ μὲν νεοσσός ἐστιν, ἡ δ' ἠῤῥημένη].

ἔν, συντεμοῦσα πάντα, νικήσω λέγων·

τὸ φῶς τίδ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἥδιστον βλέπειν,

1250

τὰ νέρθε δ' οὐδέν· μαίνεται δ' ὅς εὐχεται

θανεῖν. κακῶς ζῆν κρεῖσσον ἢ καλῶς θανεῖν.

ΧΟ. ὦ τλήμον Ἑλένη, διὰ σέ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς γάμους

in P. 1244. κὰν corrected by a late hand to κὰν P (both MSS. have ἐγγίγνεται).

1245. σ' ὦ P (corrected by an early hand to σε δ' ὦ and by a late one to σε γ' ὄδ' ὦ), σ' ὄδ' ὦ L. 1247. δύο PL, which Barnes, Dawes, Porson, and Valckenaer changed to δύο, thus correcting metre and grammar at once (though the metre—see on v. 844—still halts somewhat).

1248. There is some confusion in the middle of this v. in L, Nauck suspects the ἐστιν and Hermann and Hennig propose οὗτος for it. 1249. νικήσω λόγον PL, κινήσω λόγον Canter. I prefer to read ἐν, συντεμοῦσα πάντα, νικήσω λέγων.

1250. In P the οἱ of ἀνθρώποισιν (for ἀνθρώποισιν) is in an erasure.

1251. οὐδεὶς PL, οὐδέν Stobaeus (119), whence Heath and Valckenaer restored it here.

1252. In P the θανεῖν which begins this v. was first written at the end of v. 1251 and then crossed through and put (outside the v.) before κακῶς, with which this v. originally began. In L too this v. originally began with κακῶς, and an early hand added the θανεῖν before it, but Vitelli says nothing of its having been put in first at the end of the preceding v. A late hand in P put α over the last θανεῖν in this v. and β over καλῶς. This order was adopted in all edd. up to Kirchhoff. The mistake in the position of the first θανεῖν was probably due to writing from dictation

1246. αἰδεσαί με καὶ κατοίκτιρον] Cp. X 82 τάδε τ' αἶδο καὶ μ' ἐλέησον.

1247. δύο φίλω] Phoen. 1659 ἀλλ' εὐκλείης τοι δύο φίλω κείσθαι πέλας. It is somewhat inconsistent that, after joining herself in v. 1238 with her mother in her appeal, Iph. should here leave her out.

1249. Even when not emended (see Crit. Notes) this v. has been read in many different ways. It is best then to take πάντα with λόγον as an internal or cognate acc. to νικήσω. ('Win my cause entirely'.—Monk and Weil prefer to take πάντα λόγον to mean 'every conceivable argument on the other side'.) There still remains the question, does ἐν συντεμοῦσα mean 'saying one thing by way of summing up', 'with (this) one

brief word'? or ought we to take συντεμοῦσα absolutely, or with λόγον supplied, and take ἐν predicatively with it as meaning 'in one'? Of these two difficult interpretations I incline to the latter, but I think the substitution of λέγων for λόγον a less violent course than either.

1251 f. μαίνεται κ.τ.λ.] 'None but a madman would wish for death'. Cf. Soph. Aj. 967 ὦν γὰρ ἡράσθη τυχεῖν ἐκτήσαθ' αὐτῷ, θάνατον ὄνπερ ἤθελεν, and on the other hand, with the following words, Achilles' memorable words at λ 488 ff. μὴ δὴ μοι θάνατόν γε παραῦδα φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεύ. βουλομένην κ' ἐπάρορος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλω, ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίωτος πολὺς εἴη, ἢ πᾶσιν νεκέεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

ἀγὼν Ἀτρεΐδαις καὶ τέκνοις ἦκει μέγας.

- ΑΓΑ. ἐγὼ τὰ τ' οἰκτρὰ συνετός εἰμι καὶ τὰ μὴ, 1255  
 φιλῶ τ' ἐμαυτοῦ τέκνα· μαινοίμην γὰρ ἄν.  
 δεινῶς δ' ἔχει μοι τοῦτο τολμῆσαι, γύναι,  
 δεινῶς δὲ καὶ μὴ· ταῦτά γάρ πρᾶξαί με δεῖ.  
 ὀρᾶθ' ὅσον στράτευμα ναύφρακτον τόδε,  
 χαλκέων θ' ὅπλων ἀνακτες Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι, 1260  
 οἷς νόστος οὐκ ἔστ' Ἰλίου πύργους ἔπι  
 εἰ μὴ σε θύσω, μάντις ὡς Κάλχας λέγει,  
 οὐδ' ἔστι Τροίας ἐξελεῖν κλεινὸν βάθρον.  
 [μέμνηε δ' ἀφροδίτη τις Ἑλλήνων στρατῷ

and was at least as early as the MS. from which P and L were copied. 1256.  
 φιλῶν PL, φιλῶ τ' Markland. 1257. με PL, μοι Reiske, who suggested, but  
 did not adopt it, and Monk, who was the first to print it.—ταῦτα PL. If the  
 conjecture I make about the τοῦτο in the next v. is correct we ought to read τοῦτο  
 here. 1258. τοῦτο PL, ταῦτὸ Kirchhoff. I conjecture that τοῦτο originally  
 stood after μοι in v. 1257 and that ταῦτὰ in this v., coming directly underneath it, was  
 transposed for it in the copying and then altered to ταῦτα. Weil writes τί ποτε for  
 τοῦτο here with ; at the end of the v. 1259. A late hand in P puts a mark of  
 interrogation at the end of this v. 1260. καλκέων PL, corrected by a late  
 hand in P and an early one in L to χαλκέων. These facts accord with the belief  
 that the writers of P and L were not very good scholars, and that P was at some  
 time corrected by L. 1262 f. Three views have been held about these 2 vv.  
 and supported by competent critics: (1) that they should be transposed: (2) that 1263  
 is spurious: (3) that they are right as they stand in the MSS. with the exception  
 of the word καινόν PL, for which everybody accepts Reiske's κλεινόν, which occurred  
 independently to several critics (as to the confusion of the two words cf. Elmsley on  
*H. F.* 38). I incline decidedly to the third, and believe that (1) and (2) have arisen  
 from a misapprehension of the clause μάντις ὡς Κάλχας λέγει. This clause does not  
 qualify θύσω, but is a parenthesis qualifying νόστος οὐκ ἔστ': i.e. the meaning is *not*:  
 'unless I slay you as Calchas bids me to do'. See Expl. Notes. 1264—1268.  
 Hennig points out that vv. 1264—1266 are seriously inconsistent with vv. 1269—1275.

1255. τὰ τ' οἰκτρὰ συνετός εἰμι] Cp.  
 Xen. *Cyr.* III. 3. 9 ἐπιστήμονες δὲ ἦσαν  
 τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος ὀπλίσει  
 (Krüger I. 46, 4, 5): Weil cps. *Med.* 686  
 τρίβων τὰ τοιάδε.

1256. μαινοίμην γὰρ ἄν] See Krüger  
 I. 54, 12, 9.

1257. γύναι] Ag. first addresses his  
 wife, as she had spoken first.

1258. πρᾶξαι] intrans. here.

1259. ὀρᾶθ'] The plural shows that  
 here Ag. addresses both wife and  
 daughter. This is best taken as an im-

perative, as at *Phoen.* 101 σκόπει δὲ πεδία  
 καὶ παρ' Ἰσμηνοῦ ῥοάς, Δίρκης τε νᾶμα,  
 πολεμίων στρατεύμ' ὅσον.

1260. ὅπλων ἀνακτες] Weil is no  
 doubt right in taking this as a poetical  
 periphrasis for ὀπλῖται. He quotes Aesch.  
*Pers.* 371 πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἀναξ ἐς ναῦν  
 ἐχώρει, πᾶς θ' ὅπλων ἐπιστάτης.

1261—1263. 'Unless I slay thee (so  
 says Calchas), they can never sail against  
 walled Ilium, no, nor overturn the stately  
 piles of Troy'.

1264. ἀφροδίτη τις] The name of



πλεῖν ὡς τάχιστα βαρβάρων ἐπὶ χθόνα,  
 παῦσαί τε λέκτρων ἀρπαγὰς Ἑλληνικάς·  
 οἱ τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ παρθένους κτενοῦσί μου  
 ὑμᾶς τε καμέ, θέσφατ' εἰ λύσω θεᾶς.]  
 οὐ Μενελεύς με καταδεδούλωται, τέκνον,  
 [οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ κείνου βουλόμενον ἐλήλυθα,]  
 ἀλλ' Ἑλλάς, ἣ δέῃ, κὰν θέλω κὰν μὴ θέλω,  
 θῦσαί σε· ταύτης ἥσσοιες καθέσταμεν.

1265

1270

The latter passage, especially in the last three lines, urges the *claims* of Greece on all true patriots, the former says the Greeks are so madly bent on vengeance, that whoever withstands their fury will perish, with all his house. Such an appeal to fear, not the clumsiest rhetorician would prefix to an appeal to patriotism. Besides, the passage neither follows well on *v.* 1263 nor fits in with what follows, *i.e.* the mention of Menelaus in 1269, besides containing at least one very questionable phrase. On the other hand Hennig is quite right to defend *vv.* 1269 and 1271—1275 against Dindorf. The above-mentioned inconsistency between the two passages becomes an additional argument in favour of the latter. 1267. κτείνουσί PL, κτενοῦσί Scaliger. 1268. θέσφατον PL, θέσφατ' Scaliger. 1270.

This slipshod verse, which adds nothing to 1269 and obstructs the grammatical and logical connexion of οὐ Μενελεύς in 1269 with ἀλλ' Ἑλλάς, Hennig rightly condemns, and Nauck agrees with him. A corrector of P put " over the line before the κ of κεινου. The MS. must have fallen into bad hands. 1272. τούτου δ' PL, ταύτης Nauck, which I have adopted. The τούτου is taken to refer to the necessity just mentioned, or generally (as Weil says) to *patriotism*. If so it is impossible to imagine anyone wilfully changing the simple ταύτης into what is

the goddess is used here in the same sense as ἔρως above at *v.* 808, and the Lat. *cupido*, whereas in the passage in the *Phoenissae* (*v.* 399), which is quoted in support of this use here, it has the meaning of the Latin *venus*, *i.e.* *charm*. The dative στρατῷ with μέμνηε is also peculiar, and led Lobeck to conj. ἔμνηε ...στρατόν.

1266. λέκ. ἀρπ. Ἑλληνικάς] In support of this somewhat harsh enallage Vitelli quotes Soph. *Ant.* 793, and *Bacch.* 866. Cf. also Ar. *Vesp.* 838 τρυφιλίδα τυροῦ Σικελικὴν κατεδήδοκεν, below *v.* 1347 πονηρὸν εἶπας οἰωνὸν λόγων. The harshness here comes from the fact that, with ἀρπαγὰς, the adj. Ἑλλ. would more naturally have a subjective, active meaning, than that of 'suffered by the Greeks' which is necessary for the meaning here.

1268. θέσφατ' εἰ λύσω] λύειν is used here in the quite legitimate sense of *put an end to, cancel*, but the expression, when considered in its context, reveals incoherence of thought. If the most natural construction be put upon it, and θέσφατα be interpreted 'the demand of the oracle', the only way of cancelling or satisfying that would be the sacrifice. But the words θέσφ. εἰ λύσω are here put for 'if I fail to sacrifice'. Cf. below 1486 where θέσφατ' ἐξαλείψω is used of satisfying the goddess by submitting to the sacrifice.

1269. Ag. here refers to *v.* 1168.

1271. ἣ] not *to* whom, but *for* whom = ἣς ἕνεκα. (This is better than to take it as the rare dat., of the person bound, with δέῃ, for Ag. always speaks of *himself*, and not the Greeks, as the sacrificer.) με must be supplied with δέῃ.

ἐλευθέραν γὰρ δεῖ νιν, ὅσον ἐν σοί, τέκνον,  
 καὶ μοι, γενέσθαι, μὴδὲ βαρβάρων ὕπο  
 Ἑλληνας ὄντας λέκτρα συλᾶσθαι βία.

1275

ΚΛ. ὦ τέκνον, ὦ ξέναι,  
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι θανάτου τοῦ σοῦ μελέα.  
 φεύγει σε πατὴρ Ἀἰδῶ παραδούς.

ΙΦ. οἱ ἄνθρωποι, μήτηρ· ταῦτόν γὰρ δὴ  
 μέλος εἰς ἄμφω πέπτωκε τύχης,  
 κοῦκέτι μοι φῶς  
 οὐδ' ἁελίου τόδε φέγγος.

1280

ἰὼ ἰὼ.

νιφόβολον Φρυγῶν νάπος Ἰδαίης τ'

far more difficult. I rather believe that the διασκεναστής was puzzle-headed enough to put τοῦτον as a masc. referring to Menelaus, ignoring the context, or perhaps reading the sentence as a question. 1274. βαρβάρους PL, βαρβάρων Musgrave. Weil

is doubtless right in suggesting that the alteration to the dative was made under the impression that β. ὑπὸ went closely with ὄντας and not συλᾶσθαι. Puzzle-headed again. 1275. L at first wrote συλλᾶσθαι and then erased the 1st λ.

1276. Monk would read τέκνον σοῦ ξέναι. 1277. οἱ ἐγὼ PL, corrected in P by a late hand to οἱ ἐγὼ.—θανάτου σοῦ PL, θανάτου τοῦ σοῦ Heath and Musgrave.

1279. οἱ ἐγὼ μήτηρ ταῦτόν ταῦτόν γὰρ P with the α of μήτηρ corrected to η, μήτηρ substituted for the first ταῦτόν and the ον of the second altered to ο; the last correction by a later hand than the others, οἱ ἐγὼ μήτηρ μήτηρ ταῦτό γὰρ L. Vitelli says that in L the first μήτηρ has its α corrected to η, the second is in an erasure, ταῦτό was originally ταῦτόν, and something has been erased after the γὰρ. P apparently gives the earliest of the mss. readings. Dobree's γὰρ δὴ after a single ταῦτόν is the best of the many attempts to mend the metre. It is possible that in some MS. the δὴ, being written above the γὰρ and somewhat to the left, was mistaken for δῖς, i.e. an indication that ταῦτόν was to be repeated. 1284. The ι of νιφόβολον is in an erasure in P, it looks as if it had been an ε—Φρυγῶν νάπος PL, νάπος Φρυγῶν

1273. The ellipsis of ἐστὶ or γίγνεται is common with ὅσον.

1276—1335. After a few words interchanged between the mother and daughter (6 anapaests introduced by a dochmiac) Iphigeneia begins at v. 1283 a monody of mixed metres in which she bewails her fate.

1279. μήτηρ] The Doric forms of this word, and ἁελίου below, are irregular, as these six lines seem to be systematic and not threnic anapaests.

γὰρ] introduces a justification of the repeated exclamation.

1280. εἰς ἄμφω πέπτωκε] not 'has befallen both', but 'befits both'.

τύχης] It is rather hard to say what this gen. depends on. Most probably in strict grammar it depends on μέλος, though its position after πέπτωκε gives it a somewhat adverbial force: lit. 'The same cry about our lot'.

1281. It is better to supply ἐστὶ than ἔσται: 'It exists no more for me, it has come to an end'.

1284 f. νάπος and ὄρεα form a hendiadys. The speaker appeals to the bleak glen, or glen-side among the

ὄρεα, Πρίαμος ὅθι ποτὲ βρέφος ἀπαλὸν ἔβαλε 1285  
 ματρὸς ἀποπρὸ νοσφίσας  
 ἐπὶ μόρῳ θανατόεντι  
 Πάριν, ὃς Ἰδαῖος  
 Ἰδαῖος ἐλέγет' ἐλέγет' ἐν Φρυγῶν πόλει. 1290  
 μή ποτ' ὤφελεν τὸν ἀμφὶ  
 βουσὶ βουκόλον τραφέντα  
 [Ἀλέξανδρον]  
 οἰκίσαι ἀμφὶ τὸ λευκὸν ὕδωρ, ὅθι  
 κρῆναι Νυμφᾶν κείνται 1295  
 λειμών τ' ἄνθεσι θάλλων  
 [χλωροῖς, καὶ ῥοδόεντα

Hennig *metr. grat.* 1286. μητρὸς PL, ματρὸς Herm. and Monk, μητέρος Seidler. 1291. ὤφειλε PL, ὤφειλες Elmsley, who supposed this to be still addressed to the νιφόβολον νάπος: but οἰκίσαι could not have a mountain as its subject: ὤφελεν Herm. 1292 f. τραφέντ' Ἀλέξανδρον PL (both mss. make a verse end with the ν of τραφέντ'), Monk, Bothe, and Hartung reject Ἀλέξανδρον as being out of place and unmetrical, Hartung improved the metre by writing τραφέντα. 1296. Both mss. put a : after ἄνθεσι, though they make the verse end with χλωροῖς, i.e. they thought the five words ought to make two verses and not one. 1297. I have no doubt that Wil.-Möll. is right in saying that both P and L have καὶ and not οὐ. The abbreviation for καὶ in P is badly written, but it has a grave accent over it, which would not be the case if it stood for οὐ. Monk

Phrygian mountains, where the infant Paris was exposed. 'Why', she asks, in effect, why 'was not that exposure his death, as his father intended?'

1289 f. Probably it was the music which was mainly responsible for this double repetition.

1291. ὤφελεν] i.e. (so Barnes) Priam, but οἰκίσαι cannot have applied to the original exposure. Apparently then Priam made two attempts to get rid of his son. First he exposed him as a baby. This attempt was as usual frustrated by a shepherd. The child grew up as a shepherd with the name Idaeus. Then, according to the story of the Cypria, which Euripides probably adopted, more or less, in his *Alexandros*, this Idaeus came to the city and successfully contended against his brothers in some public games, was recognized

by Cassandra, and then, as we should conclude, sent back again to the hills by Priam, that he might not do the harm to the city which Cassandra had prophesied (cf. Eur. *Androm.* 294 ff.). A comparison of *Hel.* 29—λιπὼν δὲ βούσταθμ' Ἰδαῖος Πάρις Σπάρτην ἀφίκεθ'—suggests that Euripides's version of the story supposed Paris, on his recognition by his family, not to have stayed in Troy, but to have returned to his hill pastures.

1294. λευκὸν ὕδωρ] Eurip. uses λευκός twice elsewhere as an epithet of water: *H. F.* 573 (Δίρκης τε νᾶμα λευκὸν αἰμαχθήσεται), and *Hel.* 1336. It does not mean *clear*; that is μέλας (Phot. μελάνυδρος βαθεία· κυρίως δὲ καθαρὰ ὕδατος: (cf. W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesius*, p. 236), but *sparkling, bright*.

ἄνθεα ὑακίνθινά τε θαῖσι δρέπειν].

ἔνθα ποτὲ Παλλὰς ἔμολε

1300

καὶ δολιόφρων Κύπρις

"Ἡρα θ' Ἑρμᾶς θ',

ὁ Διὸς ἄγγελος,

ἃ μὲν ἐπὶ πόθῳ τρυφῶσα

Κύπρις, ἃ δὲ δουρὶ Παλλὰς,

1305

"Ἡρα τε Διὸς ἀνακτος

εὐναῖσι βασιλίσιν,

κρίσιν ἐπὶ στυγρὰν ἔριω τε [τᾶς] καλλονᾶς

ἔμοι δὲ θάνατον, ὄνομα μὲν

φέροντα Δαναΐδαισιν, ὧ κόραι.

1310

ΧΟ. πρόθυμά σ' ἔλαβεν Ἀρτεμις πρὸς Ἴλιον.

rejected καὶ ῥόδῳ...δρέπειν. It looks like a slightly altered passage from an idyllic or elegiac poem, where the strange ῥοδόεντα would suit the metre. The awkwardness of ἄνθεα following ἄνθεσι was noticed by Markland. The mention of the goddesses also is premature. (Hermann and others explain it of the nymphs or the goddesses generally, not of the three soon to be mentioned.) I have also rejected χλωροῖς as being a very unlikely epithet for ἄνθεσι. (This objection is met by von Sybel by reading ἔρρεσι instead of ἄνθεσι. Dobree proposes ἄλσεα for ἄνθεα.) It was possibly, in the form χλοεροῖς or χλοεροῖσιν, an epithet of λειμῶσιν in the poem from which the passage is taken. 1300—1303. Hennig suspects these four lines of being either corrupt, or added to fill a gap. 1302. The θ' after Ἑρμᾶς is wanting in P and added by an early hand in L. 1305. δορὶ PL, δουρὶ Monk. 1307. βασιλοῖσι P<sup>1</sup>, βασιλίσιν P<sup>2</sup> and L. 1308. Matthiae rejects the τᾶς "non solum ob metrum, sed etiam quod abhorret a more tragicorum". 1309—1311.

I have printed these *vv.* as the MSS. give them, not because I think they can be explained, but because I see no clue to a satisfactory emendation. 1309. ἐμοὶ

PL, ἐμὸν Elmsley. 1310. ὄνομα μὲν P, ὄνομα μὲν<sup>αν</sup> L: Weil reads πομπὰν for the two words, thus providing something to make sense with πρὸς Ἴλιον: others read ὄνομα μὲν. Possibly ἂν or μὲν is due to a τιμὰν written as an explanation over ὄνομα. Monk's and Hartung's suggestion to write ὧ κόραι for the MSS. ὧ κόραι, and to give it to the chorus seems to me a likely one. (The latter also rejects μὲν and makes the chorus begin at ὄνομα.) Headlam writes Δαναΐδαις, σίνος κόραι, adopting Elmsley's προθύματ' in the next *v.*, assigning that *v.*, as Elmsley does, to Iph., and reading μὲν after ὄνομα. 1311. The words πρὸς Ἴλιον certainly cannot stand as they are

1304. τρυφᾶν ἐπὶ] corresponds in meaning to the lighter English phrase *to plume oneself upon*. At *Andr.* 279 (ἔριδι στυγεῖρᾷ κεκορυθμένον εὐμορφίας, which has often been compared with *v.* 1308 below) κεκορυθμένον is used in a similar sense, I think.

1309. θάνατον] this is explained to be governed by ἐπὶ supplied from the preceding line.

1311. πρόθυμα] Whatever was the original force of the preposition in the compounds πρόσφαγμα and πρόθυμα (probably it meant *in front of* the



- ΙΦ. ὁ δὲ τεκὼν με τὰν τάλαιναν,  
 ὦ μᾶτερ ὦ μᾶτερ,  
 οὔχεται προδοὺς ἔρημον.  
 ὦ δυστάλιν' ἐγὼ, πικρὰν  
 πικρὰν ἰδοῦσα δυσελέναν.  
 φονεύομαι διόλλυμαι.  
 σφαγαῖσιν ἀνοσίοισιν ἀνοσίου πατρός.  
 μή μοι ναῶν χαλκεμβολάδων  
 πρύμνας Αὐλὶς δέξασθαι  
 τοῦσδ' εἰς ὄρμους  
 ὥφελεν ἐλάταν πομπαῖαν,  
 μηδ' ἀνταῖαν Εὐρίπω  
 πνεῦσαι πομπὰν Ζεύς, μελίσσων

1315

1320

for τῆς πρὸς Ἴλιον στρατείας. I think some word for *expedition* has been lost here, of which πρὸς Ἴλιον was an explanation. See below on v. 1321. 1317. ἀνοσίοισιν P, but it is doubtful whether L had at first ἀνοσίοισιν or ἀνοσίοις, most probably the former. 1320. ᾄδ' Αὐλὶς, PL, Αὐλὶς Monk. The ᾄδ', which is insufferable by the side of the τοῦσδ' in the next v. was doubtless introduced by a metrical 'improver'. Nauck agrees with Monk. 1321. ὄρμους εἰς Τροίαν PL. Here again I think Monk is quite right in suspecting an interpolation, and I have with him rejected εἰς Τροίαν. Hermann (*Opusc.*) accepts this view. Cf. above on v. 1311. Πομπαῖος might more easily have such words as εἰς Τροίαν dependent on it as an epithet of a wind, than as an epithet of ἐλάτα. For τοῦσδ' I am inclined to suggest τάνδ'. 1322. ὥφελεν PL, ὥφελ' Bothe and Nauck, to avoid the proceleusmatic. 1323. μήτ' PL, μηδ' Hermann. Hennig would reject Εὐρίπω and write μηδ'...πομπὰν as a complete dimeter. (In both P and L μηδ'...πομπὰν are written as a single line.) His reason is, that "geographical regions have not backs and fronts". But it is

altar), it seems to have lost it, and only to have been recognized as suitable to the idea of sacrifice. Weil compares Aesch. Ag. 227 προτέλεια ναῶν.

1316. ἰδοῦσα] is difficult. Perhaps it means 'when I saw', i.e. 'It was a luckless day for me when I first set eyes on Helen'. πικρὰν 'to my cost'. See above v. 955 and Suppl. 1222.

1320. πρύμνας] Headlam well quotes *El.* 1022 πρυμνοῦχον Αὐλιν.

1322. ἐλάταν πομπαῖαν] ἐλάτη is used here, like κώπη at *I. T.* 140, in the collective sense of *fleet*; πομπαῖαν is a natural epithet of κώπη in its ordinary sense of *oar*, and is transferred here along with it.

1323. Εὐρίπω] a local dative. In some places Zeus is sending favourable winds, but on the Euripus he sends a contrary one.

1324 f. πομπὰν] ἀνταῖαν πομπὰν is best understood by a comparison of the phrase οὐράς πομπῆς above at v. 352. As an object to πνεῦσαι, πομπή is a natural poetical variety for ἄνεμος.

μελίσσων αὔραν] Lit. 'making the wind pleasant', i.e. sending a favourable wind. The participle does not mean 'while sends'—that would be ὁ μελίσσων, but 'while', or 'whereas he is sending'. It is curious that the words Ζεὺς μελίσσων occur together also at *Hel.* 1399. Cf. Ζεὺς Μελίχιος.

αὔραν ἄλλοις ἄλλαν θνατῶν 1325

λαΐφεσι χαίρειν,

[τοῖς δὲ λύπαν, τοῖς δ' ἀνάγκαν,]

τοῖς δ' ἐξορμᾶν, τοῖς δὲ στέλλειν,

τοῖσι δὲ μέλλειν.

ἦ πολύμοχθον ἄρ' ἦν γένος, ἦ πολύμοχθον 1330

ἀμερίων, τὸ χρεῶν δέ τι δύσποτμον

ἀνδράσιν ἀνυρεῖν.

ἰὼ ἰώ,

μεγάλα πάθεα, μεγάλα δ' ἄχρα

Δαναΐδαις τιθεῖσα Τυνδαρὶς κόρα. 1335

not right to take *ἀνταῖαν* and *Εὐρίπῳ* together. The latter word is necessary to the passage as a local dative. 1327. I have followed Hennig in rejecting this *v*. It overloads the passage and obstructs the connexion of ideas. He takes it to be a "parallel passage" which has been mistaken for part of the text. Its unmetrical form—Heath would emend the metre by writing *τοῖσι* in both cases—gives support to this view. 1329. I suspect this *v*. of being an interpolation, but see Expl. Notes. 1331. *χρεῶν* PL, *τὸ χρεῶν* Hermann. 1332. *ἀνυρεῖν* PL, *εὔρειν* Dind., *ἀντλεῖν* Weil, *ἔρπει* Herwerden. I think the fault is in the *ἀνδράσιν*, which is very strange in the place of *ἀνθρώποις* or *βροτοῖς*. Possibly a simple *ἐστὶν* stood here and was ousted by an abbreviated *ἀνθρώπων* written as an explanation of *ἀμερίων*. 1333. Both P and L had originally only one *ἰώ*: the second was added in both by an early hand. This *v*. with the two following *vv*. is assigned to the chorus in the mss. Blomfield restored them to Iph. 1335. In P an early (I think) and in L a late (so Vitelli) hand inserted a *τοῖς* before *Δαν.*, so as to

1325 f. It is best not to take *ἄλλοις* with *λαΐφεσι* (so Firnhaber and Weil), but to connect the latter word closely with *χαίρειν*, which, like the following infinitives, is expegetical—a wind to make the mariners rejoice in their sails as they see them filling.

1328. *στέλλειν* is used in its idiomatic sense of *take down, furl*. It is possible that, if, as I suspect, the following *v*. is spurious, *στέλλειν* does not mean that a contrary wind makes the sailors take in sail, but that, as favourable winds start some men on their journeys (*ἐξορμᾶν*—intr. lit. 'so that some can start'—), so they take others safe to port and let them furl their sails at the end of their journey. In that case *ἄλλαν ἄλλοις αὔραν* would not mean, as most interpreters take it, '(sending) a favourable breeze to some and a con-

trary one to others', but '(sending) various favourable breezes according to the directions in which the men wish to go'. *V*. 1330 however somewhat supports the former interpretation, and therefore I have not ventured to bracket *v*. 1329.

1331 f. *τὸ χρεῶν κ.τ.λ.*] The sense of these somewhat doubtful words seems to be: 'When men search out their fate they are sure to find that it is a hard one'.

1335. *τιθεῖσα*] The construction is the same as in the exclamation *ὦ τάλας ἐγώ*. Markl. cps. *I. T.* *ὦ ῥαδίους ὄρκοις περιβαλοῦσά με* and Soph. *Phil.* 1402 *ὦ γενναῖον εἰρηκῶς ἔπος*, so too Plato *Euth.* 303 c *ὦ μακάριοι σφώ*. But in these cases the participle or adj. is in the voc. The nom. with *ὦ* may indeed

ΧΟ. ἐγὼ μὲν οἰκτίρω σε συμφορᾶς κακῆς  
τυχοῦσαν, οἷας μήποτ' ὄφελος τυχεῖν.

ΙΦ. ὦ τεκοῦσα μήτηρ, ἀνδρῶν ὄχλον εἰσορῶ πέλας.

ΚΛ. τόν τε τῆς θεᾶς παῖδα, τέκνον· εὖ δὲ δεῦρ' ἐλήλυθεν.

ΙΦ. διαχαλατέ μοι μέλαθρα, δμῶες, ὡς κρίψω δέμας. 1340

ΚΛ. τί δέ, τέκνον, φεύγεις; ΙΦ. Ἀχιλλέα τόνδ' ἰδοῦς' αἰσχύνομαι.

ΚΛ. ὡς τί δῆ; ΙΦ. τὸ δυστυχές μοι τῶν γάμων αἰδῶ φέρει.

ΚΛ. οὐκ ἐν ἀβρότῃ κεῖσαι πρὸς τὰ νῦν πεπτωκότα.

ἀλλὰ μίμν' οὐ σεμνότητος ἔργον· ἵν' ἀμυνώμεθα.

make an iambic trimeter.

1336. κακῶν P, κακῆς L.

1337. A suspicious-

looking *v.* See above on *v.* 470.

1339. τόν τε τῆς θεᾶς Ἀχιλλέα τέκνον ᾧ δεῦρ'

P (with γ' inserted by a subsequent hand after τέκνον), τόν τε τῆς θεᾶς παῖδ' ᾧ τέκνον γ' ᾧ (*sic* Vitelli) δεῦρ' L. (Vitelli marks the letters δ' ᾧ and γ' as in an erasure.)

This last is evidently the attempt of a very ignorant scribe to make out the *v.* on the assumption that θεᾶς could only be scanned as two syllables. He has counted syllables and neglected quantity. Therefore we need take no account of the ᾧ before τέκνον and the γ' after it (which P<sup>2</sup> has copied). It is generally assumed that Ἀχιλλέα in P is a gloss on παῖδα which has got to the text by mistake. Editors are divided between the τε of the mss. and Reiske's γε. Heath (writing παῖδα for Ἀχ.) read ᾧ γε, but Hermann's ᾧ σὺ is now generally adopted. But the dat. is very harsh, and the whole remark makes a most unmotherly taunt. Apart from the rest of the *v.* it is just as possible that παῖδ' was an explanation of the gen. in τόν τε τῆς θεᾶς Ἀχιλλέα, as that Ἀχιλλέα was a gloss on παῖδα. I have ventured however, for the last part, to write εὖ δὲ δεῦρ' ἐλήλυθεν. The δὲ may have dropped out owing to the δε- which follows, the εὖ have been misread as ᾧ, and *θεν* changed to *θας*. The early edd. (*e.g.* Ald. and Canter) have the reading of L as there corrected. How did they get it? 1341. τί δὲ φεύγεις, τέκνον PL, τί δέ, τέκνον, φεύγεις Heath.—τὸν ἰδεῖν PL, τόνδ' ἰδεῖν Musgr. (There is no trace in either ms. of the τὸν which the early editions inserted before Ἀχιλλέα.) I have ventured to change ἰδεῖν to ἰδοῦς', as τόνδε could hardly be used of a person whom she refused to look at. Hartung reads τί δὲ σὺ φεύγεις τέκνον; ἸΦ. ἀνδρα τόνδ' κ.τ.λ.

1343. In P πράγματα is inserted as an explanation after πεπτωκότα, this led to the reading πεπραγμένα which is found in the editions before Markland.

1344.

οὐ σεμνότητος ἔργον, ἣν δυνώμεθα PL, οὐ σεμνότητος ἔργον ἀδυνώμεθα Weil. This is

be really the same thing as an apostrophizing voc. with ᾧ as it is written. "Ut Aemyl. Portus notat, redolet Homericum illud ἢ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε" Barnes.

1342. ὡς τί δῆ;] *Why?* The ὡς is otiose here, as sometimes with future participles and in such phrases as ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, ὡς ἐς μάχην (παρεσκευάζετο), ὡς ἀληθῶς. Cp. *I. T.* 557, *Or.* 796,

*Ion* 525.

1343. πρὸς] *'In view of'*. The general sense of this expressive line is: 'you are not in a position to deal with your present lot in a fastidious spirit'.

1344. ἀλλὰ] This word adds force to the imperative: 'Stay, I command you: this is no time for reserve: stay, that we may plan some measures of defence'.

- AX. ὦ γύναι τάλαίνα, Λήδας θύγατερ, ΚΛ. οὐ ψευδῇ θροεῖς. 1345  
 AX. δεῖν' ἐν Ἀργείοις βοᾶται. ΚΛ. τίνα βοήν; σήμαινέ μοι.  
 AX. ἀμφὶ σῆς παιδός, ΚΛ. πονηρὸν εἶπας οἰωνὸν λόγων.  
 AX. ὡς χρεὼν σφάξαι νιν. ΚΛ. ὦμοι· κοῦτις ἀντιάζεται;  
 AX. εἰς θόρυβον ἔγωγε καὐτὸς ἤλυθον, ΚΛ. τίν', ὦ ξένε;  
 AX. σῶμα λευσθῆναι πέτροισι. ΚΛ. μὲν κόρην σφάζων ἐμήν; 1350  
 AX. αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ΚΛ. τίς δ' ἂν ἔτλη σώματος τοῦ σοῦ θιγεῖν;  
 AX. πάντες Ἕλληνες. ΚΛ. στρατὸς δὲ Μυρμιδῶν οὐ σοι παρῆν;  
 AX. πρῶτος ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐχθρὸς. ΚΛ. δι' ἅρ' ὀλώλαμεν, τέκνον.  
 AX. οἱ με τὸν γάμων ἀπεκάλουν ἥσσον'. ΚΛ. ἀπεκρίνω δὲ τί;

very ingenious, but wants a future not a subjunctive. *ἴν' ὀδυνώμεθα* Herm. Those who retain the MSS. reading suppose an aposiopesis. I prefer to read *ἴν' ἀμυνώμεθα*, taking *οὐ σεμνότητος ἔργον* as a parenthesis. 1345—1348. These speeches of

AX. are assigned to XO. in P and L. They were first rightly given in ed. Brubach. 1346. *δεῖν'* L.—*βοᾶται* ΚΛ. *τίνα βοήν; σήμαινέ μοι* PL. This construction is harsh. It is possible that we ought to read *βοῶσι*, or put the ; after *τίνα*. 1347. *λόγον* PL, *λόγων* Markland. 1348. *νιν*. ΚΛ. *κοῦδεις ἐναντία λέγει* PL. In P an

early hand inserted *τοῖσδ'* after *κοῦδεις*, and a late hand altered *ἐναντία* to *ἐναντίον*. *οὐδεις* Markl., who held that the κ was due to the K for Clytaemnestra. *οὐδεις δ' οὐδὲν ἀντίον λέγει* Vitelli. I incline to the belief that *ἐναντία λέγει* was an interlinear explanation which has ousted the true reading, which I conjecture to have been *ὦμοι· κοῦτις ἀντιάζεται*; The middle of *ἀντιάω* does not appear to be found, but the sense 'set oneself against' is a very natural one here, and the rareness of the word would be a ground for the explanation. *κοῦδεις* is a very possible mistake for *κοῦτις*. The weak point in this suggestion is the supposition that *ὦμοι* has fallen out. 1349. *ἐγὼ τοι* PL, *ἔγωγε* Markl. with the approval of Pors. and Dobree, who quotes *ἔγωγε καὶ αὐτὸς* from Plat. *Gorg.* 506 B. Cf. also *Phædo* 117 C *ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ γε βίαι καὶ αὐτοῦ* and 59 B *καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγωγε*. *ἐγὼ τι* Musgrave. The same hand which originally wrote *δὴ* by way of explanation over the *νιν* in v. 648 may have written *τοι* over *γε* here. *ἤλυθον*. ΚΛ. *ἐς τίν'* PL, *ἦλθον ἐς τίν'* Markland, *ἤλυθον τίν'* Nauck. 1350. *σώζειν* PL, *σώζων* Canter. 1351. *τοῦ σώματος* PL, but in L *τοῦ* is

crossed out, and no edition seems to have printed it. 1352. *Μυρμιδόνων* PL, *Μυρμιδῶν* Elmsley. 1354. To Matthiae belongs the credit of restoring independently the *τὸν* of P and L which the early editions had corrupted to *τῶν*. It is amusing to find that Firmhaber prints *τῶν* and condemns as unnecessary Matthiae's emendation of the "manuscript reading".—*ἥσσονα* P, and so probably L originally

1345. *οὐ ψευδῇ θροεῖς*] i.e. 'when you call me *τάλαίνα*'. Possibly we ought to put the comma after *γύναι*.

1347. *λόγων*] gen. of definition. For the enallage cf. above on v. 1266.

1351. *ἔτλη*] The lengthening of ε before τλ is extraordinary.

1353. *δι' ἅρ' ὀλώλαμεν*] Cf. Krüger

II. 68, 48, 1 and 2, and above vv. 11, [40], and 268.

1354. *οἷ*] 'Why, they'—The relatives at the beginning of this v. and 1356 are slightly exclamatory, somewhat like the *οἶος* which is explained to be = *ὅτι τοιοῦτος*.



- AX. τὴν ἐμὴν μέλλουσαν εὐνὴν μὴ κτανεῖν, ΚΛ. δίκαια γάρ. 1355  
 AX. ἦν ἐφήμισεν πατὴρ μοι. ΚΛ. κἀργόθεν γ' ἐπέμψατο.  
 AX. ἀλλ' ἐνικώμην κεκραγμοῦ. ΚΛ. τὸ πολὺ γὰρ δεινὸν κακόν.  
 AX. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀρήξομέν σοι. ΚΛ. καὶ μαχεῖ πολλοῖσιν εἰς;  
 AX. εἰσορᾷς τεύχη φέροντας τοῦσδ'; ΚΛ. ὄναιο τῶν φρενῶν.  
 AX. ἀλλ' ὀνησόμεσθα. ΚΛ. παῖς ἄρ' οὐκέτι σφαγήσεται; 1360  
 AX. οὐκ, ἐμοῦ γε ζῶντος. ΚΛ. ἤξει δ' ὅστις ἄψεται κόρης;  
 AX. μυρίοι γ' ἄξει δ' Ὀδυσσεύς. ΚΛ. ἄρ' ὁ Σισύφου γόνος;  
 AX. αὐτὸς οὗτος. ΚΛ. ἴδια πράσσω, ἢ στρατοῦ ταχθεὶς ὑπο;  
 AX. αἰρεθεὶς ἐκῶν. ΚΛ. πονηράν γ' αἵρεσιν, μαιφονεῖν. 1364

(Vit. says the ' of ἤσσαν' is in an erasure). ὑπεκρίνω P, and so L originally, though possibly the first hand (Vit.) altered the ὑ to ἀ. Possibly in the ms. from which P and L were copied an ἀ was written over the ὑ as a suggested correction, and P mistook it for the last letter of the preceding word, while L adopted the correction. But whoever made the correction originally it ought to be adopted. The ὑ was doubtless due to some scribe's familiarity with Homeric forms. Cp. on v. 1221 above. 1355. εὐνὴν PL, εἶναι Scaliger, εὐνὴν Herm. (*Orisc.*). I think it is possible that Cly.'s part of this v. should begin at μῆ. 1356. ἐφήμισε PL, ν added by a late hand in P. 1357. ἐνικώμην P, the ο corrected by an early hand to ω. 1358. μάχη PL, μαχεῖ Elmsley. 1359. τοῦσδε PL, corrected in P by a late hand to τοῦσδ', see above on v. 1354. 1360. ὀνησόμεσθα PL, ὀνήσομεν σέ Elmsley. 1361. γ' ἐκόντος PL, γε ζῶντος Nauck, Vit. cps. A. 88, *Herac.* 66, 650 and *Herc. Fur.* 261. We need the stronger pledge here. 'If I can help it' is far too weak for the context. 1363. ἴδια PL, and so Heath for the ἰδίᾳ of the early edd. (In P there is a mark under the α which is really the ink on the other side of the page, which happens to be thin here. This was mistaken doubtless by

1355. μέλλουσαν] For this absolute use of the part. of μέλλω cp. below v. 1380 and *El.* 626 ἢ πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου; The precisely similar sense of λέχος and the use of εὐνή at *Tro.* 831 (though the reading there is doubtful), *Androm.* 907, *Hipp.* 885, *Soph. Ant.* 1224 are enough to justify the metonymical use of εὐνή for wife.

1357. τὸ πολὺ] A poetical variety of οἱ πολλοί. Vitelli quotes *Or.* 772 δεινὸν οἱ πολλοί. So at v. 1401 below τὸ...δοῦλον stands for οἱ...δοῦλοι.

1359. τεύχη] Probably, as Headlam says, these were Achilles's own arms (it does not mean *these armed men*). He points to the men bearing his arms as a proof that he is ready to fight, even

though single-handed.

1360. ἀλλ' ὀνησόμεσθα] The ἀλλὰ, like the old English *nay*, adds strength to the asseveration 'I shall have a reward': i.e. I shall win a bride.

οὐκέτι] not 'no longer' but 'now... not'.

1362. ἄξει] probably not 'will bring them', still less 'will be their leader' as Erasmus has it ("dux Ulysses agminis"), but 'will (i.e. 'is to') carry her off'—an answer to the ὅστις ἄψεται κόρης in the last v. The same duty was assigned to Odysseus at *Hec.* 220 ff. and *Soph. Phil.* 6 ταχθεὶς τόδ' ἔρδειν τῶν ἀνασσόντων ὑπο.

1364. μαιφονεῖν] depends on the αἰρεθεὶς at the beginning of the v. Monk

- ΑΧ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σχήσω νιν. ΚΛ. ἄξει δ' οὐχ ἐκούσαν ἀρπάσας;  
 ΑΧ. δηλαδὴ ξανθῆς ἐθείρας. ΚΛ. ἐμὲ δὲ τί χρὴ δρᾶν τότε;  
 ΑΧ. ἀντέχου θυγατρός. ΚΛ. ὡς τοῦδ' εἵνεκ' οὐ σφαγήσεται.  
 ΑΧ. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰς τοῦτό γ' ἤξει. ΙΦ. μῆτερ, εἰσακούσατε  
 τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων· μάτην γάρ σ' εἰσορῶ θυμουμένην  
 σῶ πόσει· τὰ δ' ἀδύναθ' ἡμῖν καρτερεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον. 1370  
 τὸν μὲν οὖν ξένον δίκαιον αἰνέσαι προθυμίας·  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ τοῦθ' ὀρᾶν χρὴ, μὴ διαβληθῇ στρατῶ,  
 καὶ πλεόν πρᾶξωμεν οὐδέν, ὅδε δὲ συμφορᾶς τύχη.  
 οἶα δ' εἰσῆλθέν μ', ἄκουσον, μῆτερ, ἐννοουμένην.

Musurus for an ι subscript.) 1366. ἐθείρας PL, ἐθείρας L. Dindorf. 1367. ἀντέχῃ, corrected by a subsequent hand to ἀντέχου P, ἀντέχου L.—ἐνεκ' PL, οὐνεκ' Ald., εἵνεκ' Nauck. (The MSS. reading here is an argument in favour of the Ionic form. εἵνεκα is much more likely than οὐνεκα to have become ενεκα. This argument however needs to be supported by cases in which MSS. give εἵνεκα.) 1368. In P λείπει is written over the end of εἰσακούσατε, i.e. in some MS. Iph.'s speech was made to begin at the beginning of a line and μῆτερ εἰσακούσατε was taken to be an unfinished v. (Wil.-Möll. is wrong in saying that in P the λείπει is written over the early part of the following v.). 1369. τῶν ἐμῶν· μάτην γὰρ εἰσορῶ P (an early hand inserted λόγων after ἐμῶν above the line, and a σ after the σ of εἰσορῶ, i.e. εἰς σ' ὀρῶ, but without putting a breathing to the ὀ. τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων· μάτην γάρ σ' L, but Vit. says the τῶν ἐμῶν and the σ' are added by a different hand and λείπει (crossed out) is in the margin. Hense suggested that the original was τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπῶν, accounting for the omission of the latter word by its similarity to the preceding ἐμῶν, Weil μύθων, as beginning with the same letter as μάτην: but L seems to establish λόγων. Probably an early MS. was accidentally damaged at this point. 1372. διαβληθῆς PL, διαβληθῇ Monk and Hartung. The ὅδε in the next v. prevents us from taking this v. to be addressed to Achilles. 1373. ὁ δὲ PL, in L Ἀχιλλεύς is written over it, ὅδε δὲ Musgrave, who says he found it in one of the Paris copies of .L. For a similar ὅδε δέ cp. Or. 896. 1374. In L the -εν of εἰσῆλθεν is written by a late hand in an erasure,—ἐννοουμένην P, with a ν

well cps. Hcl. 1633 ΘΕΟΚ. ἥ με προῦ-  
 δωκεν ΧΟ. καλὴν γε προδοσίαν, δίκαια  
 δρᾶν.

1366. If the reading here is correct (Kirchhoff proposed δρᾶν τί χρὴ), we have another extraordinary lengthening of a vowel. Cf. above on v. 1351.

1367. ὥς] for εὖ ἴσθι ὥς, as in the similar line Hec. 400 ὥς τῇσδ' ἐκούσα παιδὸς οὐ μεθήσομαι: Cf. Elmsley on Med. 596 (609).

1368. εἰς τοῦτο] i.e. 'to violence', so that it really refers to the same thing as the τοῦδ' of the previous v.

εἰσακούσατε] For the plural used in the same sentence with the singular Weil cps. Soph. O. C. 1104 προσέλθετ', ὦ παῖ, πατρί. In both cases there is the same reason for it: i.e. there is another person present who is meant to hear what is in form only addressed to one. In the Oedipus it is Ismene, here it is Achilles.

1370. καρτερεῖν] is here used, as Heath says, of active not passive courage (L. and S. wrong). τὰ ἀδύνατα is a cognate acc. 'It is hard to bear up against impossible odds'.

1371. αἰνέσαι] thank.

κατθανεῖν μὲν μοι δέδοκται· τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸ βούλομαι, 1375  
 εὐκλεῶς πρᾶξαι παρεῖσά γ' ἐκποδὼν τὸ δυσγενές.  
 δεῦρο δὴ σκέψαι μεθ' ἡμῶν, μήτερ, ὥς καλῶς λέγω·  
 εἰς ἔμ' Ἑλλάς ἢ μεγίστη πᾶσα νῦν ἀποβλέπει,  
 κὰν ἐμοὶ πορθμός τε ναῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν κατασκαφαί,  
 τὰς τε μελλούσας γυναῖκας μηκέθ' ἀρπάξειν ἐὰν 1380  
 [τὸν Ἑλένης τείσαντας ὄλεθρον, ἣν ἤρπασεν Πάρις].  
 ταῦτα πάντα κατθανοῦσ' ἄρ' οἶσομαι, καί μου κλέος,

added by a late hand, ἐννοουμένην L. Probably some MS. had (by mistake) εἰσηλθον, and this led to the nom. ἐννοουμένη in P. 1376. δυσμενές P, δυσγενές L. At *I. T.* 591 P has δυσμενής and L δυσγενής. 1378. συναποβλέπει PL, corrected in both by an early hand to νῦν ἀποβλέπει. 1380—1382. Conington (in the *Class. Mus.* II. p. 108) and Herm. (*Opusc.*) seem to me to have hit on the right solution of the many difficulties presented by these two vv. in rejecting the weak ἦν τι δρώσι βάρβαροι (which comes after γυν.) and τὰς ὀλβίας ἐξ Ἑλλάδος (after εἶαν) and reading what remains of the two vv. as a single line. This involves the rejection (so too Monk and Hartung) of v. 1382. We have no need therefore to provide a syntax for τείσαντας, a defence for ὄλεθρον, or a supplement to the halting metre such as a late hand in P and L did by writing ἦντιν' for the MSS. ἦν. 1383. κατθανοῦσα ῥύσομαι PL. ῥύσομαι will bear no sense that will fit this passage, I therefore read, with very slight alteration, κατθανοῦσ' ἄρ' οἶσομαι. (As to the two passages quoted in L. and S. in support of a meaning 'fend off', 'get rid of', for ῥύσομαι:

1375 f. I venture to think that all commentators on this passage have erred in supposing that τοῦτο αὐτὸ refers back to κατθανεῖν, instead of to the following εὐκλεῶς πρᾶξαι. Independently of anything else αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι is a very unnatural expression in reference to *being sacrificed*. Those who so take it are driven moreover by a consideration of the drift of the whole passage to explain δέδοκται as 'it has been determined' (by the Greeks, that is), and either to suppose that the dative μοι is used in a quite extraordinary way for the accusative, or to emend the passage in some way (e.g. Herwerden and others read ἐμὲ for μοι). I take κατθ. μ. μ. δ. to be Iph.'s declaration of her *own suddenly formed resolution* to meet death (cp. *Introduction*, p. xiii), and translate the following words: 'My one wish is to act nobly, to clear myself from all taint of baseness'. (Cf. κλέος

v. 1383 and δόξα v. 1399.) For αὐτὸ τοῦτο referring to what immediately follows cf. *Soph. Phil.* 77 f. ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δεῖ σοφισθῆναι, κλοπεὺς ὅπως γένηται τῶν ἀνικητῶν ὀπλων.

1379 f. κὰν ἐμοί] Cp. *I. T.* 1507 καὶ τὰμ' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν ἢ καλῶς ἔχειν ἢ μῆδεν εἶναι, 'it lies with me'. An infin. dependent on ἐν ἐμοί ἐστι and representing an action contemplated as possible (ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.), naturally has the negative μὴ with it. (Those who read ἐῶντες have hard work to account for the μηκέθ'.)

1381. μηκέθ' ἀρπάξειν ἐὰν] i.e. τοὺς βαρβάρους. For a similar ellipse of the subj. of the infin. dependent on ἐὰν cp. *Or.* 899 οὗτος κτανεῖν μὲν οὔτε σ' οὔτε σύγγονον εἶα.

1383. οἶσομαι] used in the epic (and tragic) sense of *win as a prize*.

‘Ελλάδ’ ὥς ἡλευθέρωσα, μακάριον γενήσεται.  
καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ τοί τι λίαν ἐμέ φιλοψυχεῖν χρεών· 1385  
πᾶσι γάρ μ’ Ἕλλησι κοινὸν ἔτεκες, οὐχὶ σοὶ μόνῃ.  
ἀλλὰ μυρίοι μὲν ἄνδρες ἀσπίσιν πεφραγμένοι,  
μυρίοι δ’ ἐρέτμ’ ἔχοντες, πατρίδος ἡδικημένης,  
δρᾶν τι τολμήσουσιν ἐχθροὺς χυπὲρ Ἑλλάδος θανεῖν;  
ἢ δ’ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ μί’ οὔσα πάντα κωλύσει τάδε; 1390  
καὶ τί τοῦτοισ τῶν δικαίων ἔχομεν ἀντειπεῖν ἔπος;  
κάπ’ ἐκεῖν’ ἔλθωμεν· οὐ δεῖ τόνδε διὰ μάχης μολεῖν  
πᾶσιν Ἀργείοις γυναικὸς εἶνεκ’ οὐδὲ κατθανεῖν.  
εἰς ἀνὴρ κρείσσω γυναικῶν μυρίων ὀρᾶν φάος.  
εἰ δ’ ἐβουλήθη τὸ σῶμα τοῦμὸν Ἀρτεμις λαβεῖν, 1395

in Soph. *O. T.* 312 ῥῶσαι can quite well have its ordinary meaning of ‘rescue’, if, with Jebb, we take its object πᾶν μiasma to mean “all that is defiled”; and at Thuc. v. 63 Dobree is, I think, right in conjecturing λύσσεσθαι for ῥύσσεσθαι.) 1385. οὐδέ τοι λίαν ἐμέ PL. A late hand in P inserted γ’ after λίαν and the Aldine editor altered ἐμέ to ἐμοί: both these mistaken alterations were corrected by Markland, but it was reserved for Elmsley to emend the metre satisfactorily by introducing τι after τοί. Monk says one of the Paris copies of L has οὐδέ τι and the other οὐδέ τοι. 1388. I think it possible that this line is spurious.

1389. τολμήσουσ’ P<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>, τολμήσουσιν P<sup>2</sup>L<sup>2</sup>—χυπὲρ P<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>, τε χυπὲρ P<sup>2</sup>L<sup>2</sup> (Wil.-Möll. — Vit. says nothing about τε in L).

1391. τί τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτ’ ἀρ’ ἔχομεν PL (with an erasure over *στ*, but no circumflex in L). An early hand in L and a late one in P has τοῦτὸ γ’ ἀρ’. This alteration satisfied the demands of metre in a fashion, but not those of syntax: the ἔχομεν will not stand without an ἀν. The sense too seems to demand a dative to go with ἀντειπεῖν. Bremi and Elmsley are of opinion that the line originally ended with ἔχομεν ἀντειπεῖν ἔπος. What went before we can only conjecture. The line as I have printed it might have been so obliterated as to leave only τί τὸ δίκαιον, and the *τοῦτ* may be a remnant of *τούτοις* which was written over the line and which was afterwards inserted in the wrong place. τί τὸ δίκαιον; ἀρ’ ἔχομεν τοῖσδ’ ἀν ἀντειπεῖν ἔπος Monk, τί τὸ δίκαιον ἄρα τούτοις ἔχομεν κ.τ.λ. Weil.

1393. ἔνεκ’ PL, οὔνεκ’ an early hand in L, εἶνεκ’ Nauck. (See above on v. 1367.)

1394. εἰς γ’ PL, εἰς Hermann. Monk says one of the Paris copies of L has εἰς γὰρ. It is possible that, like the Paris scribe, some early copier inserted a γὰρ which was afterwards altered *metr. grat.* to γ’.

1395. ἐβουλήθη σῶμα PL. An early hand in P inserted τὸ before σῶμα. σῶμα τοῦμὸν is probably a marginal interpretation (drawn from v. 1397) of some lost words. Perhaps the v. originally ran εἰ δ’ ἐβουλήθη

1386. κοινόν] The sentence gains much in expressiveness from this neuter, which is almost equal to a noun. For the general sense Weil well compares Dem. *de Cor.* § 205 ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, and

Firnhaber Eur. *Erechth. fr.* 362, 14 f. ἔπειτα τέκνα τοῦδ’ ἑκατὶ τίκτομεν, ὥς θεῶν τε βωμοὺς πατρίδα τε ῥυόμεθα.

1394. Monk. cps. *Or.* 805 f. ὥς ἀνὴρ (? εἰς ἀνὴρ) ὅστις τρόποισι συντακῇ θυραῖος ὦν, μυρίων κρείσσω ὁμαίμων ἀνδρὶ κεκ-  
τῆσθαι φίλος.



ἐμποδὼν γενήσομαι ἡ γὰρ θνητὸς οὐσα τῇ θεῷ;  
 ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον· δίδωμι σῶμα τοῦμόν 'Ελλάδι.  
 θύετ', ἐκπορθεῖτε Τροίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ μνημεῖά μου  
 διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ παῖδες οὗτοι καὶ γάμοι καὶ δόξ' ἐμή.  
 βαρβάρων δ' "Ελληνας ἄρχειν εἰκός, ἀλλ' οὐ βαρβάρους,  
 μῆτερ, 'Ελλήνων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλον, οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι. 1402

ΧΟ. τὸ μὲν σὸν, ὦ νεᾶνι, γενναίως ἔχει·

τὸ τῆς τύχης δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς θεοῦ νοσεῖ.

ΑΧ. Ἀγαμέμνωνος παῖ, μακάριόν μέ τις θεῶν

1405

ἔμελλε θήσειν, εἰ τύχοιμι σὼν γάμων.

ζηλῶ δὲ σοῦ μὲν 'Ελλάδ', 'Ελλάδος δὲ σέ.

δέμας τὸδ' Ἀρτεμις λαβεῖν σφαγῇ, and σφαγῇ was dropped *metri gratia* when σῶμα τοῦμόν was inserted in the text. 1396. γενήσομ' ἐγὼ PL, γενήσομαι ἡ γὰρ Reiske and others. 1398. θύετε πορθεῖτε P, θύετ' ἐκπορθεῖτε L, and P is corrected by an early hand to the reading of L. 1400. εἰκός ἄρχειν PL, ἄρχειν εἰκός Aristotle *Pol.* 1, 2, and so Heinsius. This *v.* was in the early editions written as two *vv.* Grotius and Barnes both corrected this, the former even trying to remedy the metre by writing ἄρχεν "Dorice." Like most later editors Barnes left the subsequent numbers of the *vv.* untouched. 1402. τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον PL. An early hand in L and a late one in P have corrected this to οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι. 1407. τοῦ PL, σοῦ

1398 f. With this have often been compared Macaria's words at *Heracl.* 591 ταῦτ' ἀντὶ παίδων ἐστὶ μοι κειμήλια καὶ παρθενείας, and (Firn.) *Or.* 1050 τὰδ' ἀντὶ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου λέχους.

1400 f. With this passage have been compared *Andr.* 665 βάρβαροι δ' ὄντες γένος Ἑλληνισιν ἄρξουσ'; *Fr.* 717 Ἑλληνες ὄντες βαρβάροις δουλεύσομεν; where see Nauck's note for other similar words. Aristotle's way of introducing his quotation of this passage (διὸ φασιν οἱ ποιεῖται) shows that it was a 'commonplace' of Gk. tragedy. Ar.'s further words (ὡς ταῦτὸ φύσει βάρβαρον καὶ δοῦλον ὄν) are also exactly in keeping with *v.* 1402, with which Firnhaber cps. *Hel.* 276 τὰ βαρβάρων γὰρ δοῦλα πάντα πλην ἐνός and *Or.* 1115.

1406. ἔμελλε θήσειν εἰ τύχοιμι] 'meant to make me if I won'. In using the opt. τύχοιμι Ach. puts himself back in the position when it was still possible for him to win Iph. as his bride. For the

opt. cp. *Bacchae* 612 τίς μοι φύλαξ ἦν εἰ σὺ συμφορὰς τύχοις.

θήσειν] "*Athen.* II. p. 501 C τὸ ποιῆσαι θεῖναι πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐλέγετο" Vitelli. Photius τίθησι· ποιεῖ, and θεῖναι· ποιῆσαι. This use is Homeric. Cf. Cobet, *N. L.* 261, Plat. *Sympr.* 197 D.

1407. ζηλῶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] We have had the same gen. of the ground of the congratulation with ζηλοῦν above at *v.* 677. These words do not mean, as Hennig and Vitelli say: 'I grudge you to Hellas', but 'Hellas is happy in having such a daughter, and you are happy in being a daughter of such a country as Hellas'. With this passage Firnhaber well compares *Andr.* 328 f. οὐκ ἀξιώ οὐτ' οὖν σὲ Τροίας, οὔτε σοῦ Τροίαν ἔτι, though here it is hard to justify the rhetorical antithesis—see Nauck, *Stud. Eur.* II. p. 101—perhaps it means: 'you are not worth Troy any more than Troy as it now is' (ἔτι), *i.e.* in ruins, 'is worth you'.

εὖ γὰρ τόδ' εἶπας ἀξίως τε πατρίδος·  
 [τὸ θεομαχεῖν γὰρ ἀπολιποῦς, ὃ σου κρατεῖ,  
 ἐξελογίσω τὰ χρηστὰ τὰναγκαῖά τε.] 1410  
 μᾶλλον δὲ λέκτρων σῶν πόθος μ' ἐσέρχεται  
 εἰς τὴν φύσιν βλέψαντα· γενναία γὰρ εἶ.  
 ὅρα δ'· ἐγὼ γὰρ βούλομαί σ' εὐεργετεῖν  
 λαβεῖν τ' ἐς οἴκους· ἄχθομαί τ', ἴστω Θέτις,  
 εἰ μὴ σε σόσω Δαναΐδαισι διὰ μάχης 1415  
 ἐλθών· ἄθρησον, ὃ θάνατος δεινὸν κακόν.

ΙΦ. λέγω τάδ' \* \* \* \* \*  
 ἡ Τυνδαρις παῖς διὰ τὸ σῶμ' ἀρκεῖ μάχας

superscribed in one Paris ms., and so first Canter. 1408. Hermann (*Opusc.*) condemns this *v.* along with the two following *vv.* If it does not belong here it is taken from some lost tragedy: it is certainly not by the same hand as *vv.* 1409 f. These two lines would of themselves be enough to show that a "*miserrimus interpolator*" had been at work in this play. Monk was the first to call attention to their inconsistency with the nature and the neighbouring words of the speaker. "They reduce his admiration of the young princess's noble spirit and generous patriotism to a mere compliment on her prudence in surrendering to necessity". Hennig has also called attention to the fact that ὃ has no antecedent but the "*divinum numen*" implied in τὸ θεομαχεῖν. As Vitelli says, *v.* 1396 provided the interpolator with his matter here.—ἐξελογίσω corrected to ἐξελογίσω P, ἐξελογίσω L.—τάδ' ἀναγκαῖα γε P, τά τ' ἀναγκαῖα γε L. In L an accent has been erased from the final α of ἀν., and in P τάδ' has been corrected to τά τ'. τὰναγκαῖά τε Reiske (τὰναγκαῖα γε Markl.). No doubt, as Wil.-Möll. says, this last confusion arose from the fact that an earlier ms. wrote τὰ ἀναγκαῖα and the hiatus was variously filled up. 1411. μοι σῶν PL, the μοι being crossed through by a late hand in both MSS. 1412. τὴν PL, σὴν Scaliger and Canter. 1413—1416. These *vv.* were rejected by Hartung as unworthy of Euripides, and Dindorf follows him. But, as Vitelli and Weil say, Iph.'s following words are inexplicable unless Achilles has renewed his offer to defend her. 1416. ἄθροισον P and the early edd., ἄθρησον L and so Canter. 1417. λέγω τάδ' PL. P has "λείπει" above the line after τάδ'. Perhaps the words originated in a marginal "ΙΦ. λέγει τὰδε" in a copy which had omitted to mark the person speaking at *v.* 1417. A later hand in both P and L added οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εὐλαβουμένη and in L λειπ. has been erased. Ald. altered the second οὐδὲν to οὐδέν'. Whatever meaning can be extracted from these words is inapposite. 1418. ἀρχει PL, ἀρκεῖ

1412. τὴν φύσιν] From the σῶν of the previous *v.* σου would naturally be supplied with these words. Perhaps Firnhaber is right in supposing that the article may have had some demonstrative force here.

1413—1415. The emphatic pronoun gives the key to the point urged here by

Achilles: 'It is my own wish to serve you...it is a personal grief to me if I am not to (*i.e.* if you will not let me) fight to rescue you'.

1416. ὃ θάνατος δεινὸν κακόν] Cp. *Measure for Measure* III. 1. 117, "Death is a fearful thing".

1418 f. διὰ τὸ σῶμα] goes closely

- ἀνδρῶν τιθεῖσα καὶ φόνους· σὺ δ', ὦ ξένε,  
 μὴ θνήσκε δι' ἐμὲ μηδ' ἀποκτείνης τινά.  
 ἔα δὲ σῶσαί μ' Ἑλλάδ', ἣν δυνώμεθα.  
 ΑΧ. ὦ λῆμ' ἄριστον, οὐκ ἔχω πρὸς τοῦτ' ἔτι  
 λέγειν, ἐπεὶ σοι τάδε δοκεῖ· γενναῖα γὰρ  
 φρονεῖς· τί γὰρ τάληθες οὐκ εἴποι τις ἄν;  
 ὅμως δ', ἴσως γὰρ καὶ μεταγνοίης τάδε,  
 [ὥς οὖν ἂν εἰδῆς τάπ' ἐμοῦ λελεγμένα]  
 ἐλθὼν τάδ' ὅπλα θήσομαι βωμοῦ πέλας.  
 [ὥς οὐκ εἰσὼν σ' ἀλλὰ κωλύσων θανεῖν.]  
 χρήσει δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις τάχα,  
 ὅταν πέλας σῆς φάσγανον δέρης ἴδης.  
 [οὐκουν εἰσὼ σ' ἀφροσύνη τῇ σῇ θανεῖν·  
 ἐλθὼν δὲ σὺν ὅπλοις τοῖσδε πρὸς ναὸν θεᾶς
- 1420  
1425  
1430

Hardouin.—In L η is written over the second α of μάχας. Such a suggestion shows us that the scribe of L was more venturesome and therefore often less trustworthy than that of P.

1422—1433. This perplexing passage has been very variously dealt with. Most editors reject 1426 and refuse to admit both 1427 f. and 1431 f., though they vary in their choice between the two passages. Transposition has also been suggested. I believe we ought to reject *vv.* 1426, 1429 and 1431—1433. 1425. γε καὶ PL (though Vit. does not say so of L), γὰρ καὶ Herm. γὰρ ἂν Hennig. The change to γε was the result of the insertion of the following *v.* 1426. This *v.* was apparently inserted to account for the τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις in *v.* 1428. The τάπ' ἐμοῦ was meant to be τὰ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ in the sense of τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, and this in itself condemns the *v.*, which moreover evidently interrupts the connexion of ideas in the passage without adding anything of moment. 1427. ἐλθόντα δ' P, altered by a late hand to ἐλθὼν τάδ', which is the reading of L. 1428. This is a very feeble *v.* As Vitelli says, the antithesis is quite out of place. 1429. χρήση PL with an ι subsc. added by a late hand in P to the second η. 1431—1433. The

with μάχας τιθεῖσα: and in these words Iph. glances at Ach.'s expressed love for herself (λέκτρων σὼν πόθος in *v.* 1411), "It is enough that love for Helen should stir up deadly strife: let not your desire to save me give rise to more". For τιθεῖσα cp. above on *v.* 1406.

1420. τινά] more vague than the prosaic and usual μηδέν.

1422. ὦ λῆμ' ἄριστον] The same expression occurs at *I. T.* 609.

1424. τί γὰρ τάληθες οὐκ εἴποι τις ἄν] In these words Ach. admits that his judgment has gone with Iph.'s decision, and refers rather to οὐχ ἔχω κ.τ.λ.

than to the immediately preceding words.

1427. τάδ' ὅπλα] The τεύχη referred to in *v.* 1359. He will place his arms near the altar as a sign that he is prepared to take them up in her defence, even at the last moment, in case Iph. should repent. We must of course suppose Ach. to imply that he will himself remain by his arms. The middle θήσομαι means I will put them there for my own use, and in itself suggests this.

1429. 'You may decide to have recourse to my promised aid at the last moment'.

καταδοκήσω σὴν ἐκεῖ παρουσίαν.]

- ΙΦ. μήτερ, τί σιγῇ δακρύοις τέγγεις κόρας;  
 ΚΛ. ἔχω τάλαινα πρόφασιν ὥστ' ἀλγεῖν φρένα. 1435  
 ΙΦ. παῦσαί, με μὴ κάκιζε· τάδε δ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ.  
 ΚΛ. λέγ', ὡς παρ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικήσει, τέκνον.  
 ΙΦ. μήτ' οὖν σὺ τὸν σὸν πλόκαμον ἐκτέμης τριχός,  
 [μήτ' ἀμφὶ σῶμα μέλανα ἀμπύσχη πέπλους.]  
 ΚΛ. τί δὴ τόδ' εἶπας, τέκνον; ἀπολέσασά σε 1440  
 ΙΦ. οὐ σύ γε· σέσφσμαι, κατ' ἐμὲ δ' εὐκλεῆς ἔσει.  
 ΚΛ. πῶς εἶπας; οὐ πενθεῖν με σὴν ψυχὴν χρεῶν;  
 ΙΦ. ἥκιστ', ἐπεὶ μοι τύμβος οὐ χωσθήσεται.

mention of the ναὸς θεᾶς is enough to condemn this passage. There is no other mention (cf. on *v.* 1480 below) of a temple of Artemis at which the sacrifice is supposed to take place. Besides, the definite statement made here and in *v.* 1427 is inconsistent with Achilles' present proposal, which is that his action is to depend entirely on Iph.'s decision. 1436. παῦσαί με PL, παῦσαι, 'μέ Porson. But the emphatic 'μέ is out of place before the following ἐμοί. If the mss. text is sound, we must read παῦσαί, με, making a pause before the με, notwithstanding that it is an enclitic. I think, however, that it is possible that μὴ κάκιζε (for which μὴ κακίσης would have been more in place) is a gloss, and that the original was something like παῦσαί με θηλύνοσα· or else that παῦσαί has usurped the place of some such word as κλανθμῶ. 1437. ἀδικήση PL. A late hand in P has written something indistinguishable in the place of the κη. ἀνυχήσεις Canter (and Cobet, *V. L.* 598, who does not mention Canter), but this would need a gen. in this sense. Monk thinks a γ' may have been lost after ἡμῶν. Cobet would read πρὸς for the mss. παρὰ. See Expl. Notes. 1438. γε PL, σὺ Elmsley. 1439. Burges was the first to eject this *v.* The interpolator thought the μήτ' in 1438 ought to have a companion, and slightly altered *v.* 1449. 1440. τί δὴτα and ὦ τέκνον PL, τί δὴ Barnes, τέκνον Markland.

1434. We have much the same expression at *Med.* 922 and *Hel.* 1189.

1435. πρόφασιν] Firnhaber notes that at *Hec.* 340 this word is explained by the scholiast to mean αἰτία, ἀφορμή.

1437. παρ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικήσει] "Of me you shall have no cause to complain". The expression is a quasi-legal one. Cp. *Dem. adv. Lept.* p. 507 οἱ ἀξιοὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τὰ δίκαια ἔξουσιν. *Xen. Cyr.* 5, 5, 13 τὸ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀδίκημα. For the passive fut. in -σομαι cp. above *v.* 331 ἄσσομαι and *v.* 1203 ἐστερήσομαι.

1438. μήτ'] Probably Iphigeneia was going on to say what she does say even-

tually at *v.* 1449 (i.e. that her sisters were not to mourn for her either), when she was stopped by the requirements of the stichomuthia.

τριχός] is not governed by the ἐκ- but depends on πλόκαμον.

1441. σέσφσμαι] The spectators would probably refer this to the actual interposition of Artemis at the moment of the sacrifice: an instance of tragic 'irony'.

1443. Iph. means that as there will be no mound on which to place the locks of mourners' hair, or pour funeral libations over, the ceremonial of the πένθος cannot take place.



- ΚΛ. τί δ', εἰ τεθνήξεις, οὐ τάφος νομίζεται;  
 ΙΦ. βωμὸς θεᾶς μοι μνήμα τῆς Διὸς κόρης. 1445  
 ΚΛ. ἀλλ' ὦ τέκνον, σοὶ πείσομαι· λέγεις γὰρ εὖ.  
 ΙΦ. ὡς εὐτυχούσά γ' Ἑλλάδος τ' εὐεργέτις.  
 ΚΛ. τί δὴ κασιγνήταισιν ἀγγελῶ σέθεν;  
 ΙΦ. μηδ' ἀμφὶ κείναις μέλανας ἐξάψης πέπλους.  
 ΚΛ. [εἶπω δὲ παρὰ σοῦ φίλον ἔπος τι παρθένους; 1450  
 ΙΦ. χαίρειν γ'. Ὀρέστην τ' ἔκτρεφ' ἄνδρα τόνδε μοι.  
 ΚΛ. προσέλκυσάι νιν ὕστατον θεωμένη.  
 ΙΦ. ὦ φίλτατ', ἐπεκούρησας ὅσον εἶχες φίλοις.]  
 ΚΛ. ἔσθ' ὅ τι κατ' Ἄργος δρῶσά σοι χάριν φέρω;  
 ΙΦ. πατέρα τὸν ἄμὸν μὴ στύγει πόσιν τε σόν. 1455  
 ΚΛ. δεινούς ἀγῶνας διὰ σὲ δεῖ κείνον δραμεῖν.

1444. For the unintelligible MSS. τί δὴ; τὸ θνήσκειν οὐ τάφος νομίζεται; (δὴ or δὲ with the second letter in an erasure P, δαί with the αἰ in an erasure L: see below on v. 1448), many emendations have been proposed. Monk is satisfied with putting the first; after θνήσκειν. Paley and Herwerden propose θανοῦσιν, Weil τεθνεῶσιν, Vitelli τυθείσιν. I think we should regard the erasure in the MSS. after the δ as an indication. If δὴ was the original reading, who would want to alter it? I have therefore ventured to print τί δ', εἰ τεθνήξεις, οὐ τάφος νομίζεται; 1446. An ignorant late hand in P altered ἀλλ' to ἄρ'. 1448. δὲ P, δὴ changed to δαί L. 1449. κείναις PL, κείνας Monk, who argues that the interpolator of v. 1439 would have written ἀμφὶ σώματι if he had read κείναις here. But it is not too much to suppose that the interpolator was familiar with both constructions.—ἐξάψης PL, ἐξάψης Reiske. 1450—1453. I have bracketed these four lines because of the mention of Orestes as present. The last two vv. are good ones, but the first two are poor. The only other instances of the verb ἐπικουρέω in tragedy are to be found in the *Rhesus* (vv. 937 and 956). This lends some support to Wecklein's view that it and several interpolations in our present tragedy were by the same hand, that of the younger Euripides. See above Ex. note on v. 613. 1450. τί PL, τι H. Stephanus. 1455. τὸν ἐμὸν PL<sup>1</sup>, γε τὸν ἐμὸν L<sup>2</sup>, τὸν ἄμὸν Scaliger. 1456. κείνον δεῖ PL, δεῖ κείνον Porson. 1459. σπαράζεσθαι PL,

1444. 'Why, if you are to die, should a tomb not be your due?'

1445. It is implied that not only would the funeral ceremonies be a sacrifice to the altar, but that the altar will discharge the other purpose of the funeral mound—that i.e. of preserving a memorial of the dead.

1447. γ'] Here, and in vv. 1440 and [1450], γε stands, as often, in an answer, in place of a repetition (in another person) of the verb of the question. So above at v. 326.

1449. The mention of her sisters recalls to Iph.'s mind what she was on the point of saying at v. 1437. She says it now instead of giving a direct answer to her mother's question. The interpolator, thinking that the present v. could not serve for such an answer, makes Cly. repeat her question.

1456. δεινούς ἀγῶνας] The plural shows that Cly. is not thinking of the sacrifice, but of some results of the hatred which Iph. deprecates. Iph.'s answer in the next v. shows that she understood her

- ΙΦ. ἄκων μ' ὑπὲρ γῆς Ἑλλάδος διώλεσεν.  
 ΚΛ. δόλφ δ', ἀγεννώς Ἀτρέως τ' οὐκ ἀξίως.  
 ΙΦ. τίς μ' εἶσιν ἄξων πρὶν σπαράσσεσθαι κόμης;  
 ΚΛ. ἔγωγε μετὰ σοῦ ΙΦ. μὴ σύ γ' οὐ καλῶς λέγεις. 1460  
 ΚΛ. πέπλων ἐχομένη σὼν. ΙΦ. ἐμοί, μῆτερ, πιθοῦ.  
 μέν' ὥς ἐμοί τε σοί τε κάλλιον τόδε.  
 πατὴρ δ' ὀπαδῶν τῶνδ' εἰς τίς με πεμπέτω  
 Ἀρτέμιδος εἰς λειμῶν', ὅπου σφαγήσομαι.  
 ΚΛ. ὦ τέκνον, οἴχει; ΙΦ. καὶ πάλιν γ' οὐ μὴ μόλω. 1465  
 ΚΛ. λιπούσα μητέρ'; ΙΦ. ὡς ὀρέῃς γ', εὐκαρδίως.  
 ΚΛ. σχές, μὴ με προλίπῃς. ΙΦ. οὐκ ἔω στάζειν δάκρυ.  
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπευφημήσατ', ὦ νεάνιδες,

σπαράσσεσθαι Elmsley. As Matthiae says, perhaps the *αξ* in *ἄξων* misled the scribe here.—*κόμης* PL, *κόμας* a late hand in P, probably Musurus, as the Aldine reads *κόμας*. Even supposing that *πρὶν* could be followed by a fut., or, what is less unlikely, that *σπαράσσω* could have a 1 aor. mid. *σπαράσασθαι*, the active sense of the verb would imply that it was the conductor she here asks for who was imagined by Iph. as tearing her hair. See Expl. N. 1460. *ἐγὼ, μετὰ γε* PL, *ἔγωγε μετὰ* Markland. 1465. *οἴχη* PL. 1466. *γ' οὐκ ἀξίως* PL. If these words are correct, they ought to be read γ' οὐκ ἀξίως; but I believe that some commentator wrote οὐκ ἀξίω as a paraphrase of οὐκ ἔω in the next v., and that this, slightly modified, ousted the genuine reading here. I have printed *εὐκαρδίως* as a possible stop-gap. *γε κάξίως* Bremi, *εὐ κάξίως* Hermann, *σοῦ γ' ἀξίως* Vitelli. 1468. *ἐπεφημήσατ'*

mother's words as a threat. Cf. above v. 1180 ff.

1458. Ἀτρέως τ' οὐκ ἀξίως] Cf. above v. 1233 πρὸς Ἀτρέως πατρός, and v. 1031 ὁ γάρ τοι Τυνδάρεως οὐκ ἀξίος. Perhaps, as Paley thinks, there is a reference here, as at v. 321 above, to the supposed connexion of Ἀτρεὺς with ἄτρεστος. Ag. acts from fear.

1459. πρὶν] used for 'instead of', or 'to prevent' something happening, as at *I. T.* 102 ἀλλὰ πρὶν θανεῖν νεὺς ἐπιφεύγωμεν. The meaning of the v. is: 'who will take me and prevent my being seized by the hair?' σπαράσσειν (fut. σπαράξομαι) κόμη is to tear the hair (as at *Anacr.* 1209 οὐ σπαράξομαι κόμαν;). Here the pass. is used as a variety for ἀρπασθῆναι. The expression nearly corresponds to the colloquial English 'to be clawed by the hair'. The gen. is the

same as that above at v. 1366. At v. 1463 Iph. shows what was in her mind here: *i.e.* that if Odysseus or Calchas sent men to fetch her they would treat her violently, and therefore she wishes to be taken by a friendly hand.

1461. πέπλων ἐχομένη] not to keep her from going (ἀντεχομένη, cf. v. 1367), but to be as near her as possible. For μὴ σύ γε cf. *Hec.* 408.

1464. λειμῶν'] An open grassy place is often spoken of as sacred to some deity. Cf. *Phoen.* 24, *Soph. Trach.* 200, *Aesch. Suppl.* 558 f. In this case the erection of the altar to Artemis would make the place sacred to her. The indefinite ὅπου perhaps indicates that Iph. has no distinct knowledge of the place where the altar is to stand, though she knew the kind of place that would be chosen.

παιᾶνα τῇμῃ συμφορᾷ Διὸς κόρην  
 "Αρτεμιν. ἴτω δὲ Δαναΐδαις εὐφημία.  
 κανᾶ δ' ἐναρχέσθω τις, αἰθέσθω δὲ πῦρ  
 προχύταις καθαρσίοισι, καὶ πατὴρ ἐμὸς  
 ἐνδεξιούσθω βωμόν· ὥς σωτηρίαν  
 "Ελληνι δώσουσ' ἔρχομαι νικηφόρον.

1470

ἄγετέ με τὰν Ἰλίου  
 καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν.  
 στέφεα περίβολα δίδοτε, φέρετε·  
 πλόκαμος ὅδε καταστέφειν·  
 χερνίβων τε παγὰς.  
 ἐλίσσεται ἀμφὶ βωμόν

1475

1480

P<sup>1</sup>, ἐπευφήμησατ' P<sup>2</sup> and L.

1471. *kenā*, altered by a later hand to *kanā*, P.

1479. *παγαῖσι* PL, *παγὰς* Reiske and Seidler—the acc. is governed by *δίδοτε*, *πλόκ*.

1468 ff. The dative *συμφορᾷ* is governed by the ἐπ- in *ἐπευφημήσατ'*, and the acc. *κόρην* the direct object of *εὐφημεῖν*, *παιᾶνα* being an adverbial cognate accusative. 'Sing a paean to Artemis at my death'.

1470. ἴτω δὲ Δαναΐδαις εὐφημία] For ἴτω cf. *Phoen.* 524 ἴτω μὲν πῦρ, ἴτω δὲ φάσγαν, *Suppl.* 1025 ἴτω φῶς γάμοι τε, *Soph. Trach.* 207 ἐν δὲ κοινὸς ἀρσένων ἴτω κλαγγὰ τὸν εὐφαρέτρην Ἀπόλλω, *Ar. Av.* 857 ἴτω ἴτω δὲ Πυθιάς βοᾷ θεῶ. These passages, where ἴτω is used of the *startling* or *raising* of a shout or song, and the recent use of *ἐπευφημεῖν* and *παιάν* in the present passage, make it possible that *εὐφημία* is here used in the later sense of a *song of praise*:—cf. *Pind. Pyth.* x. 53 f. ὦν θαλῖαις ἔμπεδον εὐφάμiais τε μάλιστ' Ἀπόλλων χαίρει:—'Let your song sound in the ears of the Greeks'. But the dat. presents difficulty. The paean referred to is evidently (from what follows) meant to be sung at the moment of the sacrifice. Perhaps the word means: 'let it' (*i.e.* the paean) 'rise, a sound of good omen for the Greeks'. The passage has also been taken to mean: 'let a solemn silence be proclaimed among the Greeks'.

1471 f. For the ceremonies observed

at a sacrifice cf. above on *vv.* 1111 f.

1473. ἐνδεξιούσθω βωμόν] Hartung is probably right in refusing to accept the ordinary explanation of *ἐνδεξιόομαι*, which is '*dextra prehendere*', and interpreting to mean *ἐνδέξια περιέρχεσθαι*. Cf. *H. F.* 926 f., and *Ar. Pax* 956 ἀγε δὴ τὸ κανοῦν λαβὼν σὺ καὶ τὴν χερνίβα Περὶθι τὸν βωμόν ταχέως ἐπιδέξια (quoted by *Firnhaber* on *v.* 1557 below).

*Vv.* 1475—1509. With this *κομμός* Iphigenia quits the scene, and so, probably, does Euripides. After begging the Chorus to attend her to the altar and to deck her for the sacrifice, she renews her request to them to honour the goddess, mentioning this time the dance which is to accompany the song. (See the passage from the *H. F.* quoted below on *v.* 1480.) Hartung is wrong in thinking that at *v.* 1475 begins the paean asked for at *v.* 1469. Like the interpolator of *vv.* 1510—1531, he failed to see that that was to be sung, not on the stage, nor even on the way to the altar, but during the sacrifice.

1477. περίβολα] *περίβολος* is elsewhere used as a noun.

1480 f. ἐλίσσεται... Ἀρτεμιν] For the acc. of the deity honoured by the dance

ἀμφὶ βωμὸν Ἄρτεμιν,  
τὰν ἄνασσαν Ἄρτεμιν,  
τὰν μάκαιραν· ὥς ἐμοῖσιν, εἰ χρεών,  
αἵμασι θύμασι  
θέσφατ' ἐξαλείψω.  
ὦ πότνια πότνια μᾶτερ, οὐ δάκρυνί γέ σοι  
δώσομεν ἀμέτερα·  
παρ' ἱεροῖς γὰρ οὐ πρέπει.

1485

1490

ΧΟ. ὦ νεάνιδες,  
συνεπαιίδετ' Ἄρτεμιν  
\* \* \* \*

ὅδε κατ. being a parenthesis. 1480. λαὸν P, ναὸν L, to which a later hand corrected P. Monk is, I think, right in regarding ναὸν as spurious (cp. above on v. 1432). I have also followed him, though with more doubt, in substituting βωμὸν for it. Heimsoeth, Herwerden and Vitelli regard ἀμφὶ ναὸν as a Byzantine 'gloss' on ἀμφὶ βωμὸν. 1485. θύμασί τε PL, in L τλ (for τέλος) is written over τε and : put after it to show that the verse should end here. Bothe rejects θύμασί τε, considering it, I suppose, as due to a 'gloss' explaining αἵμασι. Monk writes θύμασιν τε. I prefer to reject the τε as Hermann suggests, comparing Aesch. P. V. 691 πῆματα, λύματα, δέματα. Cf. also Eur. El. 711 φάσματα, δέματα. 1487—1490. These vv. are assigned in P and L to the Chorus. Seidler gave them to Iph. and nearly all editors have followed him. In v. 1488 the MSS. and all editions have ὡς. If the vv. are not, as Hartung thought, spurious, we ought surely to read οὐ for ὡς. Otherwise there is a direct inconsistency with the heroine's words at v. 1467 as well as in the passage itself: for the fut. δώσομεν can only refer to the time of the sacrifice.—μῆτερ the early edd. (μῆρ L), μᾶτερ Herm. 1491—1497. These vv. I have given to the Chorus (i.e. to the κορυφαῖος). If there had not been in some MSS. an indication that the Chorus spoke some lines somewhere about here, it is inexplicable that the lines beginning α πότνια πότνια μᾶτερ should have been given to them. The only objection is in the δι' ἐμὸν ὄνομα, but these words must be corrupt (see below). Monk also gives these vv. to the Chorus, but he makes the Chorus begin at v. 1487. ὦ PL, ἰὼ, ἰὼ Nauck. 1492. After this v. I have followed Monk in indicating a gap. "One word at least must

after ἐλίσσειν Monk cps. H. F. 687 ff. παιᾶνα μὲν Δηλιάδες ὕμνουσ', ἀμφὶ πυρὰς τὸν Λατοῦς εὐπαιδα γόνον εἰλίσσουσαι καλ-λίχοροι. It is the same acc. of the indirect object which is formed with ᾄδειν, χορεύειν and even κόπτεσθαι.

1485. αἵμασι] For the plural cf. El. 1172 ἀλλ' οὔδε μητρὸς νεοφόνους ἐν (νεοφόνουσιν Nauck) αἵμασιν πεφυρμένοι βαλ-νουσιν ἐξ οἴκων πόδα, also I. T. 73 ἐξ

αἱμάτων...ξάνβ', Orestes 1548, Phoen. 1051 and 1292 δι' αἱμάτων.

θύμασι] So used in the plur. in the sense of θυσία at Med. 1054, Phoen. 573.

1486. ἐξαλείψω] lit. 'blot out'. What she will do away with is the prohibition to the fleet contained in the oracle.

1490. Monk cf. Suppl. 289 f. μὴ δακρυρροῖ σεμναῖσι Διηοῦς ἐσχάrais παρημένῃ.

1492. συνεπαιίδετε] 'Join me' (the



- Χαλκίδος ἀντίπορον,  
 ἵνα τε δόρατα μέμονε δαία 1495  
 [δι' ἐμὸν ὄνομα] τᾶσδ' Αὐλίδος  
 ἐν στενοπόροισιν ὄρμοις.
- ΙΦ. ἰὼ γὰρ μᾶτερ ὦ Πελασγία,  
 Μυκηναίαι τ' ἐμαὶ θεράπναι.
- ΧΟ. καλεῖς πόλισμα Περσέως, 1500  
 Κυκλωπίων πόνον χερῶν;
- ΙΦ. ἔθρεψας Ἑλλάδι με φάος·  
 θανοῦσα δ' οὐκ ἀναινομαι.

have been lost, in which was γᾶν or γαῖαν or πέδον, or something of the kind, with which the adj. ἀντίπορον agreed. That word is the epithet, not of Diana, but of a place or region, as in every other instance where it is found". The τε in the following v. shows that *another* description of the *place* preceded this. Prof. Strachan suggests ἀντιπέραν. 1495. Both P and L originally had δώρατα, but it was corrected early. 1496. δι' ἐμὸν ὄνομα PL. Monk rightly rejected these words (he also rejects the following τᾶσδ'). They are only consistent with μέμονε on the assumption that it meant *remain*. It is possible that they are a corruption of the two previous words repeated, or that there stood here an infin. depending on μέμονε. 1497. Before στενοπόροισιν in P is inserted in faint ink what I take to be ἐν. This correction I have adopted.—In L ὄρμοις is erased and written (with a smooth breathing) at the beginning of the following v.—In P the vv. in this passage end at δώρατα, ὄνομα, στενοπόροισιν and μῆτερ. 1498. μῆτερ PL, μᾶτερ Seidler. 1499. θεράπναι PL, θεράπναι Scaliger. 1501. Κυκλωπίων PL (and not, as usual, -είων). 1502. Ἑλλάδι μέγα φάος PL, Ἑλλάδι με φάος Elmsley. (Ἑλλάδος με φῶς Nauck.) I have adopted Elmsley's correction, partly because, as he says, it gives a metre like that of the neighbouring lines, and partly because the speaker's reference to herself in the

leader of the Chorus) 'in appeasing'. The simple ἐπάδευ (cf. above v. 1212) does not take an acc. of the person.

1495. δόρατα] probably not (as Musgrave) *ships*, but *spear*s.

μέμονε δαία] 'are thirsting for the fight'.

1498. Πελασγία] At Or. 960 Electra in view of her own approaching death also addresses her native land as ὦ Πελασγία, and at 1601 of the same play we have ἐν Ἀργεὶ τῷδε τῷ Πελασγικῷ.

1499. θεράπναι] αὐλῶνες, σταθμοί, Hesych. θεράπναι· τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι· οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Ἀλκαῖος, Photius.

1500. Περσέως] Perseus is said by

Pausanias (II. 3. 16) to have founded Mycenae.

1503. θανοῦσα δ' οὐκ ἀναινομαι] If these words are correctly given in the mss. they must mean 'That I die causes me no regret'. It was pointed out by Monk in his note on this v., as by Goodwin (*Gk. M. and T.* § 881 at the end) that though, when meaning *refuse*, ἀναινομαι takes an infin., when it means *regret* it takes a participle. But a comparison of all the instances of participles thus subordinated given in Goodwin, *M. and T.* §§ 143—152 and 881, shows that this case stands alone. Nowhere else is found an *aorist* participle subordinated to a *present* verb and referring to a *future*

ΧΟ. κλέος γὰρ οὐ σε μὴ λῖπη.

ΙΦ. ἰὼ ἰώ.

λαμπαδοῦχος ἡμέρα Δι-

1505

ός τε φέγγος, ἕτερον

ἕτερον αἰῶνα καὶ μοῖραν οἰκήσομεν.

χαῖρέ μοι, φίλον φάος.

[ΧΟ. ἰὼ ἰώ.

ἴδεσθε τὰν Ἰλίου

1510

καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν

στείχουσιν, ἐπὶ κάρᾳ στέφῃ

βαλλομέναν χερνίβων τε παγαῖς,

βωμόν γε δαίμονος θεᾶς

ῥανίσιν αἵματορρύτοις

1515

θανοῦσαν εὐφυνὴ τε σώματος δέρην

σφαγεῖσαν. εὐδροσοὶ παγαῖ

following verse is awkwardly abrupt in the absence of some such reference in this. The μέγα may have been due to a reminiscence of μέγα φῶς in *v.* 1063. In L ἐμὲ is written by way of explanation over the end of ἔθρεψας. 1510. I have followed Kirchhoff in holding that all that follows is spurious. For the Epilogue (*vv.* 1532—1629) see the Introduction, pp. xxvi. ff. As to the Choric passage (*vv.* 1510—1531), it is a feeble and at times senseless reproduction of the language and the ideas of *vv.* 1475 ff., following the supposed hint of *vv.* 1468 f. As has been said in the Introduction, some such addition as this Chorus and the Epilogue may well have been deemed necessary to the production of the tragedy on the stage. 1512. στέφει Seidler. 1513. βαλλομέναν Seidler, βαλουμέναν Hartung,—παγαῖς PL, but in L as is written over the αἰς. 1514. διαίμονος Markland, δ' αἰμονος Hennig. Monk omits θεᾶς as being a gloss upon δαίμονος. 1516. ῥανοῦσαν Markland, χρανοῦσαν Monk. The word δέρην is in both P and L crossed out at the end of this *v.*, and put in at the beginning of the next. 1517. Many editors follow Dindorf in regarding σφαγεῖσαν as a gloss on θανοῦσαν wrongly

event. Elsewhere (*e.g.* Eur. *H. F.* 1235 εὐδράσας δέ σ' οὐκ ἀνάλνομαι) such a construction means: 'I do not regret *having done*'. The defence of this passage must lie in the meaning of the verb θανοῦσα.

1508. ἕτερον αἰῶνα καὶ μοῖραν οἰκήσομεν] This use of οἰκεῖν with such accusatives is a bold extension of its absolute use in the sense of 'live', for which cf. Eur. *Fr.* 708 ἄλυπος οἰκεῖν (Nauck: the Variorum ed. gives ἄλυπον οἰκεῖν βίον), Soph. *O. T.* 1390 τὸ γὰρ τὴν φροντίδ' ἔξω τῶν κακῶν οἰκεῖν γλυκύ.

This bold vague phrase gains additional impressiveness from the consideration that this and the following line were perhaps the last words Euripides wrote.

1514 ff. If these words are as their author wrote them we must suppose he meant βωμόν to be an acc. of the goal after στείχουσιν, θανοῦσαν and σφαγεῖσαν to agree with ἐλέπτολιν, and δέρην to be an acc. of respect with σφαγεῖσαν.

1517 ff. This sentence is not so flabby in construction as the last, but in the connexion of its thoughts it is flabbier.

πατρῶαι μένουσί σε χέρνιβές τε  
στρατός τ' Ἀχαιῶν θέλων  
Ἴλιον πόλιν μολεῖν.  
ἀλλὰ τὰν Διὸς κόραν  
κλήσωμεν Ἄρτεμιν, θεῶν ἄνασσαν,  
ὥς ἐπ' εὐτυχεῖ πότμῳ.  
ὦ πότνια, θύμασι βροτησίοις  
χαρεῖσα, πέμψον εἰς Φρυγῶν  
γαῖαν Ἑλλάνων στρατὸν  
καὶ δολόεντα Τροίας ἔδη,  
Ἀγαμέμνονά τε λόγχαις  
Ἑλλάδι κλεινότατον στέφανον  
δὸς ἀμφὶ κάρα ἐδν  
κλέος ἀείμνηστον ἀμφιθεῖναι.

1520

1525

1530

- ΑΓΓ. ὦ Τυνδαρεία παῖ, Κλυταιμνήστρα, δόμων  
ἔξω πέρασον, ὥς κλύης ἐμῶν λόγων.  
ΚΛ. φθογγῆς κλύουσα δεῦρο σῆς ἀφικόμην,  
ταρβοῦσα τλήμων ἀκπεπληγμένη φόβῳ.  
μή μοί τιν' ἄλλην ξυμφορὰν ἦκεις φέρων  
πρὸς τῇ παρούσῃ; ΑΓΓ. σῆς μὲν οὖν παιδὸς πέρι  
θανμαστά σοι καὶ δεινὰ σημῆναι θέλω.

1535

introduced into the text. 1524. In L the ι of πότνια has been erased. 1529.  
Ἑλλάσι Markland. 1530. κάρα τέον Aldus, κάρα θ' ἐδν Scaliger, κρᾶθ' ἐδν  
Seidler. The hiatus between κάρα and ἐδν (cf. A. 533), and the word δολόεντα in  
v. 1527, show the interpolator to have been familiar with Homeric forms. 1532—  
1629. See Introduction, pp. xxvi. ff. 1533. κλύεις corrected by a late hand  
to κλύοις P, κλύεις corrected to κλύης L. 1536. ἦκεις PL. I have retained this,  
putting a . at φόβῳ and a ; at παρούσῃ. ἦκης Portus, with a , at φόβῳ and a . at παρούσῃ,  
and so all subsequent editions. It would be possible to retain the earlier punctuation  
and yet read ἦκεις. Cf. Krüger, i. 54, 8, 12, Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 358 (d),  
Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 269. Cf. also *Phoen.* 93. 1538. δεινὰ PL, κεδνὰ

1522. θεῶν ἄνασσαν] by no means above.  
an appropriate title for Artemis, is a reminiscence of v. 1482. 1535. Cf. *Bacchae* 604 ἐκπεπληγμένα φόβῳ.

1525. χαρεῖσα] As Dindorf points out, Markland is wrong in deriving support from this place for his *δαίμονος*. The aorist participle cannot refer to the goddess' general predilections, but only to the satisfaction it is expected she will feel in this particular sacrifice. 1537. μὲν οὖν] has its adversative force here. This makes the following δεινὰ appear, as Weil held it to be, quite out of place (see *Crit. N.*). If it is genuine it must have exactly the same meaning as *θανμαστά*, and read that way the line becomes weak.

1532 f. Cf. note on vv. 801—818

- ΚΛ. μὴ μέλλε τοίνυν, ἀλλὰ φράζ' ὅσον τάχος.  
 ΑΓΓ. ἀλλ' ὦ φίλη δέσποινα, πᾶν πεύσῃ σαφῶς. 1540  
 λέξω δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἣν τι μὴ σφαλείσά μου  
 γνώμη ταραξῇ γλῶσσαν ἐν λόγοις ἐμῇν.  
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἰκόμεσθα τῆς Διὸς κόρης  
 Ἀρτέμιδος ἄλσος λείμακάς τ' ἀνθροφόρους,  
 ἔν' ἦν Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος στρατεύματος, 1545  
 σὴν παῖδ' ἄγοντες, εὐθὺς Ἀργείων ὄχλος  
 ἠθροίζεθ'. ὥς δ' ἐσείδεν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ  
 ἐπὶ σφαγὰς στείχουσιν εἰς ἄλσος κόρην,  
 ἀνυστέναζε, κάμπαλιν στρέψας κᾶρα  
 δάκρυα προῆγεν, ὁμμάτων πέπλον προθείς. 1550  
 ἣ δὲ σταθεῖσα τῷ τεκόντι πλησίον  
 ἔλεξε τοιάδ'· ὦ πάτερ, πάρειμί σοι,  
 τοῦμόν δὲ σῶμα τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπὲρ πάτρας  
 καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης Ἑλλάδος γαίας ὑπερ  
 θῆσαι δίδωμι' ἐκούσα πρὸς βωμόν θεᾶς 1555  
 ἄγοντας, εἶπερ ἐστὶ θέσφατον τόδε.  
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμ' εὐτυχεῖτε, καὶ νικηφόρον  
 δώρου τύχοιτε πατρίδα τ' ἐξίκοισθε γῆν.

Weil. 1541. μου PL, που Markland. 1544. ἀνθροφόρους PL: in L an η is written above -εσ- by an early hand, and in P a later hand has tried to alter -εσ- into -η-. 1550. προῆγεν PL, προῆκεν Dindorf. 1557. εὐτυχοῖτε Ald.

1545. Cf. *v.* 514 above, and *Hec.* 521 f. where Polyxena's sacrifice is being described: *παρὴν μὲν ὄχλος πᾶς Ἀχαιῶν στρατοῦ*, with the *ὄχλος* in which Hartung also compares the *ὄχλος* in *v.* 1546. Bang (*Vitelli Oss.* p. 39 note), to get rid of the contradiction between this *v.* and 1546 f., would give *σύλλογος* here, not the meaning it had in *v.* 514 but, the meaning it has in *Xen. Cyr.* vi. 2. 11, of an habitual 'mustering'. Such a meaning is unlikely for poetry.

1548. The double construction after *στείχουσιν* (*ἐπὶ σ.* and *εἰς ἄ.*) is awkward.

1550. *προῆγεν*] If the author of this passage is responsible for this word he must certainly have lived long after Euripides, and probably translated into Greek the poetical Latin *lacrimasque ciebat*.

*ὁμμάτων πέπλον προθείς*] Cicero, *Oration* 22. 74, with reference to the celebrated

picture by Timanthes of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, says: "*pictor ille vidit, cum in immolanda Iphigenia tristis Calchas esset, tristior Ulixes, maereret Menelaus, obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse, quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari*". Cf. also Pliny *H. N.* xxxv. 10. 36, Quintilian II. 13. 13. The veiling of Agamemnon's face was therefore regarded as an *invention* of the painter's. It may not be lawful to conclude absolutely from this that these Latin authors knew nothing of such a suggestion in a Greek tragedy, but at all events they did not think, as Firnhaber (p. 285) suggests, that the painter borrowed from Euripides.

1556. *εἶπερ ἐστὶ θέσφατον τόδε*] 'If that is what the oracle bids'. Cf. Hdt. IV, 164 *μαθὼν τὸ μαντήιον ἐδν τοῦτο*.



πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ ψαύσῃ τις Ἀργείων ἑμοῦ·  
 σιγῇ παρέξω γὰρ δέρεν εὐκαρδίως. 1560  
 τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξε· πᾶς δ' ἐθάμβησε κλύων  
 εὐψυχίαν τε κἀρετὴν τῆς παρθένου.  
 στὰς δ' ἐν μέσῳ Ταλθύβιος, ᾧ τόδ' ἦν μέλον,  
 εὐφημίαν ἀνείπε καὶ σιγὴν στρατῷ·  
 Κάλχας δ' ὁ μάντις εἰς κανοῦν χρυσήλατον 1565  
 ἔθηκεν ὁξὺ χειρὶ φάσγανον σπάσας  
 κολεῶν ἔσωθεν, κρᾶτά τ' ἔστεψεν κόρης.  
 ὁ παῖς δ' ὁ Πηλέως ἐν κύκλῳ βωμόν θεᾶς  
 λαβὼν κανοῦν ἔθρεξε χέρνιβας θ' ὁμοῦ,  
 ἔλεξε δ'· ὦ παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἄρτεμις θηροκτόνε, 1570  
 τὸ λαμπρὸν εἰλίσσουσ' ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φάος,  
 δέξαι τὸ θῦμα τόδ' ὃ γέ σοι δωρούμεθα  
 στρατός τ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ θ' ὁμοῦ,  
 ἄχραντον αἶμα καλλιπαρθένου δέρης,  
 καὶ δὸς γενέσθαι πλοῦν νεῶν ἀπήμονα 1575  
 Τροίας τε πέργαμ' ἐξελεῖν ἡμᾶς δορί.  
 εἰς γῆν δ' Ἀτρεΐδαι πᾶς στρατός τ' ἔσθι βλέπων.  
 ἱρεὺς δὲ φάσγανον λαβὼν ἐπεύξατο,

1567. *κολεῶν* P, the *ου* altered by a late hand to *ο*, *κολεῶν* L, the *ο* in an erasure.

1568. *Πηλέως* P, *Πηλέος* L. 1570. With this *v.* (which is the last line but one on the second column of the back of p. 146) a new hand begins in P. It continues through the rest of this play and down to *v.* 35 of the Danae fragment which succeeds it, *i.e.* down to the bottom of the second column of the back of p. 147. The remaining *vv.* of the Danae fragment are in a hand different from either of the two preceding ones, and occupy the first column of p. 148 (*a*), and one line of the second column. The rest of the second column of 148 (*a*) and the whole of pp. 148 (*b*) and 149 (*a*) and 149 (*b*) are blank. (1570.) ὦ παῖ ζηνὸς Ἄρτεμις θηροκτόνε P, and so also no doubt L originally (see Vitelli, p. 72 note); in P from παῖ to θηροκτόνε is crossed out by a fairly early hand which writes for it: θηροκτόν' Ἄρτεμι παῖ Διός. In L the first hand erased παῖ ζηνὸς (the *η* and the top of the *ζ* still show) and wrote διὸς in their place.—ὦ παῖ Ζηνὸς, ὦ θηροκτόνε Nauck. 1578. *ἱρεὺς* P, *ἱερεὺς* L.

1561 f. Cf. *Hec.* 542 τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξε, πᾶς δ' ἐπηύξατο στρατός. The following line, with the *τῆς* before the *παρθένου* and no article before the first two nouns, is a very bad one.

1567. *κολεῶν ἔσωθεν*] Probably corrupt. The *ἐξεῖλκε κολεοῦ* in *Hec.* 544 makes it probable that the word *κολεός* was used here. It will hardly be believed that Firmhaber swallows the words whole, explaining that *σπάσας* is here used for

*λαβὼν* and that the sword *was* put into the *κανοῦν* *with its scabbard on!*

1568. Cf. *H. F.* 926 ff., a passage already referred to above on *v.* 1112.

The monstrosities in the following *vv.*, some of which have been referred to in the Introduction p. xxviii., are too evident to need special comment, and I do not think any gain can result from their correction. It would be better to write the whole passage over again.

λαιμόν τ' ἐπεσκοπεῖθ', ἵνα πλήξειεν ἄν·  
 ἐμοὶ δέ τ' ἄλγος οὐ μικρὸν εἰσῆι φρενί,  
 1580 καῖστην νενευκῶς· θαῦμα δ' ἦν αἵφνης ὄρᾶν·  
 πληγῆς κτύπον γὰρ πᾶς τις ἥσθει' ἂν σαφῶς,  
 τὴν παρθένον δ' οὐκ οἶδεν οὐ γῆς εἰσέδυ.  
 βοᾷ δ' ἱερεὺς, ἅπας δ' ἐπήχησε στρατός,  
 ἄελπτον εἰσιδόντες ἐκ θεῶν τινος  
 1585 φάσμ', οὐ γε μὴδ' ὀρωμένου πίστις παρῆν·  
 ἔλαφος γὰρ ἀσπαίρουσ' ἔκειτ' ἐπὶ χθονὶ  
 ἰδεῖν μεγίστη διαπρεπής τε τὴν θέαν,  
 ἧς αἵματι βωμὸς ἐραίνεται' ἄρδην τῆς θεοῦ.  
 1590 καὶ τῷδε Κάλχας πῶς δοκεῖς χαίρων ἔφη·  
 ὦ τοῦδ' Ἀχαιῶν κοῖρανοι κοινοῦ στρατοῦ,  
 ὁρᾶτε τήνδε θυσίαν, ἣν ἡ θεὸς  
 προὔθηκε βωμίαν, ἔλαφον ὀρειδρόμον;  
 ταύτην μάλιστα τῆς κόρης ἀσπάζεται,  
 1595 ὥς μὴ μιάνοι βωμὸν εὐγενεὶ φόνῳ.  
 ἡδέως τε τοῦτ' ἐδέξατο, καὶ πλοῦν οὐριον  
 δίδωσιν ἡμῖν Ἰλίου τ' ἐπιδρομάς.  
 πρὸς ταῦτα πᾶς τις θάρσος αἶρε ναυβάτης,  
 χῶρει τε πρὸς ναῦν· ὥς ἡμέρα τῇδε δεῖ  
 λιπόντας ἡμᾶς Αὐλίδος κοίλους μυχοὺς  
 1600 Αἰγαῖον οἶδμα διαπερᾶν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαν  
 κατηνθρακώθη θῦμ' ἐν Ἐφαισίου φλογί,  
 τὰ πρόσφορ' ἠΰξασθ', ὥς τύχοι νόστου στρατός.  
 πέμπει δ' Ἀγαμέμνων μ' ὥστε σοι φράσαι τάδε,  
 λέγειν θ' ὁποίας ἐκ θεῶν μοίρας κυρεῖ  
 1605 καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ἄφθιτον καθ' Ἑλλάδα.  
 ἐγὼ παρών τε καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ὁρῶν λέγω·  
 ἡ παῖς σαφῶς σοι πρὸς θεοὺς ἀφίπτατο.

1580. ἄργος P, corrected by first hand to ἄλγος. 1583. οἱ γῆς P, corrected  
 to οὐ γῆς by a later hand. 1589. ἐραίνεται' P, with a second ρ written  
 below the -ρα- by an early hand, ἐρραίνεται' L. 1592. ἡ θεὸς P, ὁ θεὸς L,  
 corrected by an early hand to ἡ θεὸς. 1598. νανάτης P, corrected by a  
 subsequent hand to ναυβάτης. (The earlier uncial form of β which resembles ν  
 is not used in P, so probably this word was taken down at dictation from the  
 mouth of some one who doubtless pronounced the word (in English letters) nar-  
 wa-tees.) ναυβάτης L. 1607. παρών τε P, παρών δὲ (the δὲ in an erasure) L.

1581. νενευκῶς] With reference to  
 Matthiae's suggestion, mentioned in p.  
 xxviii. of the Introduction, we ought to  
 cf. Soph. *Ant.* 270 and 441, where a

similar attitude results in the one case  
 from fear, in the other from (perhaps)  
 despondency.

- λύπης δ' ἀφαίρει καὶ πόσει πάρες χόλον·  
 ἀπροσδόκητα δὲ βροτοῖσι τὰ τῶν θεῶν, 1610  
 σφύζουσί θ' οὖς φιλοῦσιν. ἡμάρ γὰρ τόδε  
 θανοῦσαν εἶδε καὶ βλέπουσαν παῖδα σήν.  
 ΧΟ. ὥς ἤδομαί τοι ταῦτ' ἀκούοις ἀγγέλου·  
 ζῶν δ' ἐν θεοῖσι σὸν μένειν φράζει τέκος.  
 ΚΛ. ὦ παῖ, θεῶν τοῦ κλέμμα γέγονας; 1615  
 πῶς σε προσείπω; πῶς δ' οὐ φῶ  
 παραμυθεῖσθαι τούσδε μάτην μύθους,  
 ὥς σου πένθους λυγροῦ παυσάμαν;  
 ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ στείχει,  
 τούσδ' αὐτοὺς ἔχων σοι φράζειν μύθους. 1620  
 ΑΓΑ. γύναι, θυγατρὸς ἔνεκ' ὄλβιοι γενοίμεθ' ἄν·  
 ἔχει γὰρ ὄντως ἐν θεοῖς ὁμιλίαν.  
 χρὴ δέ σε λαβοῦσαν τόνδε μόσχον νεαγενῇ  
 στείχειν πρὸς οἴκους· ὥς στρατὸς πρὸς πλοῦν ὄρᾱ.  
 καὶ χαῖρε· χρόνιά γε τὰμά σοι προσφθέγματα 1625  
 Τροίηθεν ἔσται. καὶ γένοιτό σοι καλῶς.  
 ΧΟ. χαίρων, Ἀτρείδῃ, γῆν ἔκου Φρυγίαν,  
 χαίρων δ' ἐπάνηκε,  
 κάλλιστά μοι σκῦλ' ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐλών.]

1610. Both P and L have γνώμη in the margin opp. to this v. 1615. του L.  
 1616. A corrector of L altered δ' οὐ to δὲ. 1618. πανσαίμην L (originally).  
 1621. οὐνεκα PL, corrected in both MSS. to ἔνεκα.

## APPENDIX.

SCHEME of the metre of the Lyric passages.

(In this Scheme the following signs are used:  $\sim$  represents a 'cyclic' dactyl,  $\text{—}$  a long syllable held on in singing for three 'times' or *morae*,  $<$  an 'irrational' long syllable, and  $\wedge$  a pause equal to one *mora* at the end of a verse. I have in one or two instances marked as *long*, before such a pause, a syllable by nature short, on the ground that its position made it long. Where the bar is finished in the next verse, *i.e.* when the next verse begins with an *anacrusis*, I have put no pause mark. I have marked the end of a *κῶλον* by a space between the verses.

Such divisions, and generally the arrangement of the syllables in what seem to have been the *bars*, so to speak, of the music, must, in the absence of that music, be always merely tentative. But I have myself found such attempts useful, and I hope this may help my readers.

Almost all the Lyric passages in the Iph. at Aulis are in Logaoedic metre, which, speaking musically, is in triple time.

The Parodos and the three Stasima each consist of a Strophe, an Antistrophe and an Epode.

I have not given any scheme of the spurious part of the Parodos, nor of the choric passage 1510—1531. The metre of the former is of a puerile character; mostly trochees.)

### PARODOS.

#### STROPHE AND ANTISTROPHE.

164	$\sim \sim \sim$	$\sim \sim$	$\sim$	$\text{—}$	$\wedge$	185
	$\sim \sim \sim$	$\sim \sim$	$\sim \sim \sim$	$\text{—}$	$\wedge$	
	$\text{—}$	$\text{—}$	$\sim \sim$	$\sim$	$\text{—}$	$\wedge$
	$\text{—}$	$\text{—}$	$\sim \sim$	$\text{—}$	$\text{—}$	$\wedge$
	$\sim \sim$	$\sim \sim \sim$	$\sim \sim$	$\text{—}$	$\wedge$	
	$\sim \sim$	$\sim \sim$	$\sim$	$\text{—}$	$\wedge$	190
170	$\text{—}$	$\text{—}$	$\sim \sim$	$\text{—}$	$\text{—}$	



175	(Choriambic)	˘	—	˘˘	—	˘˘	—	—
		˘	—	˘˘	—	˘˘	—	—
			˘˘	—	˘˘	—	—	—
		˘˘	—	˘˘	—	—	—	195
		—	—	—	—	—	—	
180	(Choriambic)	˘˘	˘˘	˘˘	—	˘˘	—	—
		—	˘˘	˘˘	—	˘˘	—	—
		—	—	˘˘	—	˘˘	—	—
		—	—	˘˘	—	˘˘	—	200
		—	—	—	—	—	—	
180	(Choriambic)	˘˘˘	˘˘	—	˘˘˘	—	—	—
		—	—	˘˘	—	—	—	—
		˘˘˘	—	˘˘	—	—	—	—
		—	˘˘	˘˘˘	—	—	—	—
		—	—	˘˘	—	—	—	205

ΕΠΟΔΕ.

[illegible]

## STASIMON I.

## STROPHE AND ANTISTROPHE.

543	υ υ υ υ	υ υ	- υ	- Λ		558
	υ υ υ	υ υ	- υ	- Λ		
545	┐	┐	υ υ	┐	- Λ	560
υ	- <	┐	υ υ	- Λ		
	υ υ υ υ	- <	υ υ	- Λ		
	υ υ υ υ	- <	υ υ	- Λ		
	- <	- <	υ υ	- Λ		
550	υ υ υ υ	- <	υ υ	- Λ		565
	υ υ υ υ	- υ	υ υ	- Λ		
	υ υ υ υ	- υ	υ υ	- Λ		
	υ υ υ υ	- <	υ υ	- Λ		
555	υ υ υ	υ υ	┐	-		570
υ υ υ	- υ	υ υ υ	- Λ			
	υ υ υ	- υ	υ υ	- Λ		
	┐	┐	υ υ	┐	- Λ	

## EPODE.

573	υ υ υ υ	υ υ	υ υ	- Λ		
	υ υ υ	- <	υ υ	- Λ		
575	- <	υ υ	┐	- Λ		
	*	*	*	*	*	
	υ υ υ	- <	υ υ	- Λ		
	- <	- <	υ υ	- Λ		
υ	- υ	- υ	- Λ			
	- <	υ υ	υ υ	- Λ		
580	υ υ υ υ	υ υ υ	υ υ	- Λ		
	┐	υ υ	┐	- Λ		
υ υ	υ υ	- υ	- Λ			
	- υ	υ υ	υ υ	-		
υ	┐	┐	υ υ	- υ		
585	υ υ	- υ				
υ	- υ	- υ	- υ	┐	- Λ	
	υ υ υ υ	υ υ υ				
	υ υ υ	υ υ	υ υ	- Λ		
	┐	υ υ	┐	- Λ		

## STASIMON II.

## STROPHE AND ANTISTROPHE.

(The following scheme is very unsatisfactory. It can only be said to furnish a further proof that the whole stasimon has come down to us in a very imperfect and corrupt state.)

751	┐	┐	~ ~	- ~	- ^	762
	┐	┐	~ ~	┐	- ^	
	~ ~ ~	┐	┐	~ ~	-	
	~ ~ ~	- ^	~ ~	- ^		765
755	~ ~	- ~	┐	- ^		
~	- ~	~ ~	- ^			
	┐ ~	┐ ~	~ ~	┐	- ^	
	┐ ~	┐ ^	~ ~	- ^		
	~ ~	~ ~	- ~	-		770
760 <	┐	~ ~	~ ~ ~	- ^		
	~ ~	- ^	- ~	┐	- ^	

## EPODE.

773	[ - ~	~ ~	- ~	- ^		
	- ~	~ ~	┐	-		
775 ~	┐	- ~	~ ~	- ^		
776 and 777	~ ~	~ ~	- ~	- ^		
(omitting πό-	┐	~ ~	- ~	- ^		
λισμα Τροίας)	┐	- ~	~ ~	┐	-	
780 ~	- ~	~ ~	- ^			
	~ ~	~ ~ ~	- ~	-		
~ ~	~ ~	┐	-			
~	~ ~	┐	- ^ ]			
	- ~	┐	- ~	~ ~	- ~	- ^
785	- ~	~ ~	┐	- ^		
	┐	┐	~ ~	┐	- ^	
	┐	┐	- ~	~ ~	- ^	
	┐	~ ~	┐	- ^		

	┌	┌	~ ~	- <	- Λ	
790	~ ~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	- Λ		
	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	- Λ		
	~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	- Λ	
	~ ~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	- Λ
	┌	~ ~	~ ~ ~			
795	~ ~	┌	┌	-		
	┌	┌	~ ~	- Λ		
	~ ~ ~	- <	~ ~	- Λ		
	┌	- <	~ ~	~ ~	- Λ	
	┌	~ ~	- <	- Λ		
800	┌	┌	~ ~	~ ~	┌	- Λ

## STASIMON III.

## STROPHE AND ANTISTROPHE.

1036	~	~ ~ ~	┌	~ ~	┌	~ ~	- Λ	
		~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~	~ ~	-			
	<	┌	~ ~	~ ~ ~	- Λ			1060
		┌	┌	~ ~	┌	- Λ		
1040		~ ~ ~	~ ~	┌	┌	~ ~	- Λ	
		~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	- Λ			
		~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	- ~			
		┌	- <	┌	- Λ			1065
		┌	┌	~ ~	┌	- Λ		
1045	~	┌	~ ~	┌	~ ~	┌	~ ~	-
	<	┌	~ ~	~ ~	┌	- Λ		
		~ ~	~ ~ ~	┌	- Λ			1070
	[ ~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	- Λ				
1050		┌	- <	~ ~	-			
	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	┌	-			
	<	┌	┌	~ ~	- Λ			
		~ ~ ~	~ ~	┌	- Λ			1075
		~ ~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	- Λ			
1055		┌	~ ~	~ ~	- Λ			
		┌	┌	~ ~	~ ~	- ~	- Λ	
		┌	~ ~	┌	- Λ			



## EPODE.

1080	υ	-υ	L	L	-υ	υυ	-Λ		
		υυυ	L	L	υυ	-Λ			
		υυ	L	-υ	L	L	L	υυ	-Λ
		υυ	-υ	-υ	L	-Λ			
		L	L	-Λ	L	-Λ			
1085		L	L	υυ	-υ	-Λ			
		L	L	υυ	-υ	-Λ			
		υυυ	υυ	υυ	-Λ				
		υυ	-υ	-Λ					
		-υ	L	L	-Λ				
1090		-υ	υυ	-υ	-				
	υ	υυ	L	-Λ					
		υυυ	υυυ	υυ	-Λ				
		υυυ	υυ	υυ	-Λ				
		L	L	υυ	L	-Λ			
1095		υυυ	υυ	-υ	-Λ				
		L	L	υυ	-υ	-Λ			
		L	L	υυ	L	-Λ			

## MONODY OF IPHIGENEIA 1283—1335

PRECEDED BY ONE DOCHMIAC (1276) AND SIX ANAPAESTIC  
LINES (1277—1283).

1283	υ	-υ	-Λ						
		υυυ	-υ	υυ	L	-Λ			
1285		υυυ	υυυ	υυυ	υυυ	υυυ	υυυ		
		-υ	υυυ	-υ	-Λ				
		υυυ	L	υυυ	-υ				
		υυυ	L	-υ					
1290		L	-υ	υυυ	υυυ	-υ	-υ	-Λ	
		-υ	-υ	-υ	-υ				
		-υ	-υ	-υ	-υ				
		υυ	υυ	υυ	υυ				
1295		-Λ	-Λ	-Λ					
		L	L	υυ	L	-Λ			

	[L	L	uu	-u			
	u	uuu	-u	uuu	uu	-Λ	]
1300	L	uuu	-u	uuu			
	L	uuu	-u	-Λ			
	L	L	L	L			
	uuu	uu					
	-u	uuu	-u	-u			
1305	-u	-u	-u	-u			
	L	-u	uuu	-u			
	L	-u	uuu	-Λ			
	uuu	-Λ	-u	-u			
	-u	-u	-u	uuu			
1310	uuu	-u	-u	uuu	-u	-u	-
u	-u	uuu	-u	-u	-u	-Λ	
	uuu	-u	-u	-u			
	L	-u	L	-u			
	-u	-u	-u	-u			
1315	L	-u	-u	-u	-		
u	-u	-u	uuu	-			
u	-u	-u	-u	-			
u	-u	uuu	-u	uuu	-u	-Λ	

1319—1322 anapaestic.

1330	uu	uu	uu	uu	-u		
	uu	uu	uu	uu			
	L	uuu	L	-Λ			
u	-u	-Λ					
	uuu	uuu	uuu	uuu			
1335	uuu	-u	-u	-u	-u	-Λ	

## COMMOS.

VV. 1475—1508.

1475	u	uuu	L	-u	-Λ		
		-u	-u	-u	-Λ		
u		uuu	uuu	uuu	uuu		
		uuu	uuu	-u	-Λ		
		-u	-u	L	-Λ		

1480	u	-u	-u	-u				
		-u	-u	-u	-A			
		-u	-u	-u	-A			
		-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-A	
		-u u	-u u					
1485		-u	-u	L	-A			
		L	-u u	-u u	-u	-u	u u u	-A
		-u u	-u	u u A				
1490		u u u	-u	-u	-A			
		-u	-u u					
		u u u	-u	-u	-A			
		*	*	*	*	*		
		-u u	-u	u u A				
1495		u u u	u u u	u u u	-u u			
		[u u u	u u u]	L	-u u			
	<	u u u	-u	L	-A			
		u -	L	-u	-u	-u	-A	
	u	L	L	-u	-u	L	-A	
1500	u	-u	-u	-u	-A			
	u	-u	-u	-u	-A			
	u	-u	-u	u u u	-A			
	u	-u	-u	-u	-A			
	u	-u	-u	-u	-A			
	u	-u	-A					
1505		-u	-u	-u	-u			
		-u	-u	u u u				
		u u u	L	-u	L	-u	L	-u -A
		-u	-u	-u	-A			

# INDEX

## TO GREEK WORDS DISCUSSED IN THE EXPLANATORY NOTES.

N.B. *The numbers refer to the verses of the play.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| ἀβρόννομαι 858  | ἀπλοία 88   |
| ἀγαθόν 346  | ἀπό 669   |
| ἀγειν and ἀγεσθαι in the sense of <i>marry</i><br>434 | ἄπωθεν 983  |
| ἀγών 1455   | ἄρα 404   |
| ἀδικήσομαι pass. 1436                                 | ἀργεννός 574  |
| ἄθραυστα 57   | Ἄρεθονσα 170  |
| αἰδώς 821   | ἄριθμός 231   |
| αἵματα 1485   | ἄρματα for <i>chariot and horses</i> 250            |
| αἰνεῖσθαι λίαν 979                                    | ἄρχαί 990   |
| αἰνέσαι <i>thank</i> 1371                             | ἄρχω, dat. with, 337                                |
| αἰνέω 440, 506  | ἄσκειν 83   |
| ἀλγεῖν, genitive with, 370                            | Ἄτρεύς 321  |
| ἄλλά 500, 1239, 1360                                  | ἀφαιρεῖν with only the acc. of person<br>robbed 895 |
| ἄλλά with imperat. 1344                               | ἀφασία 837  |
| ἄλλως <i>to no purpose, falsely</i> 800               | Ἄφροδίτη 1264                                       |
| ἀμπετάσας 34  |   |
| ἄν 96   | βάθρα 81  |
| ἄν, position of, 1191                                 | βάρβαροι 1400                                       |
| ἄν iterative 432                                      | βλέπειν with adv. 644                               |
| ἀνά c. dat. 754                                       | βλέφαρον 321, 379                                   |
| ἀνά 1040, 1058  | βρότειος 1083                                       |
| ἀναινομαι with inf. and with part. 1503               |   |
| ἀνὴρ joined to designations 956                       | γάμος in the sense of <i>bride</i> 1087             |
| ἀνθελέσθαι 482  | γάρ proleptic 804                                   |
| ἀνθηρός 73  | γε 1446   |
| ἀνικετεύτως 1003                                      | γέγηθα ὡς γέγηθα 649                                |
| ἀντί 104  | γελάω 912   |
| ἀντί in comp. 224                                     | γῆ or χθών used instead of πόλις 535,<br>1070       |
| ἀντιλάζυμαι 1109                                      |   |



- δέ γε 308  
 δεινός 480  
 δέλτοι 798  
 δέμας 417, 937  
 δῆ νυν 1009  
 διὰ λόγων ἐλθεῖν 1194  
 διαφέρειν 1195  
 διοίχεσθαι 958  
  
 ἔασομαι as a passive 331  
 ἐγκερτομῆν 1006  
 ἔδει instead of δεῖ 1180  
 εἰ *although* 907  
 εἰκός 501  
 εἰς *to the extent of* 951  
 εἰσεῖδον 110  
 εἰς ἐν 1127  
 εἰς ταῦτόν ἦκειν 665  
 εἰς τέλος 162  
 ἑκατι 866  
 ἑκγονος 598  
 ἑκγαυρούμενος 101  
 ἐκεῖνος 130  
 ἐκπονεῖν 209  
 ἐκτελεῖν 648  
 ἐλάται 1058  
 ἐλάτῃ and κώπῃ in the collective sense of  
     *fleet* 1322  
 ἐλίσσειν with acc. of indirect object 1480  
 ἐλίσσω 215  
 ἐλπῖς used for the expectation of evil 785  
 ἐλπῖς, personifications of, 392  
 ἐν 358, 943, 1085  
 ἐνδεξιόμαι 1474  
 ἐνδίκως 368  
 ἐν ἐμοί ἐστι 1379  
 ἐνθάδε superfluous 801  
 ἐν ἴσῳ 1199  
 ἐν καλῷ 1107  
 ἐννοεῖσθαι 492  
 ἐνταῦθα 1214  
 ἐντελῖνασθαι 549  
 ἐξαλείφω 1486  
 ἐξαπατᾶν with dat. 1216  
 ἐξῆς πᾶσι 341 (cf. also Plato *Symp.* 195 E)  
 ἐξονομάζω 1066  
 ἐπάρω 1212, 1492  
 ἐπαινώ 506  
 ἐπαρεῖ 125  
  
 ἐπήνεσα 440  
 ἐπὶ 29  
 ἐπὶ in comp. 130  
 ἐπὶ c. dat. 456, 550, 656, 1104, 1175,  
     1237  
 ἐπελθεῖν 349  
 ἐπιφημίζειν 130  
 εὐ for οὐ in tragedy 789  
 εὖ θέσθαι 672  
 εὖ λέγειν *speak well of* 1115  
 εὐνή *wife* 1355  
 εὐφημία 1470  
 εὐφημος 143  
 ἔχ' ἥσυχος 1133  
 -έω and -ίζω alternative present forms in  
     -ίζω in post-classical Greek 433  
  
 ἔηλοῦν with gen. of ground of congratula-  
     tion 1407  
  
 ἡγείσθαι 1189  
 ἡδέ 812  
 ἡκειν *return* 1191  
 ἦν instead of ἐστὶ 1199  
 ἦνεσα 655  
 ἦώς 157  
  
 θάνατος 1415  
 θαυμάζω 28  
 θεοί, synizesis of, 1034  
 Θεράπναι 1499  
 θεράπων 1  
 Θεστιάς 49  
 θήραμα 963  
 θυμέλαι 152  
  
 ἰᾶχή, ἰᾶχέω and ἰᾶχον 1039  
 ἰζομαι c. acc. 142  
 ἴνα 459  
 ἴνα, parenthetical use of, 320, with ellipsis  
     1107  
 ἰσάναι βοήν 1039  
 ἰστημι 788  
 ἰτω 1470  
  
 καθεῖναι 60  
 καί 98, in animated questions 1192, placed  
     after an interrogative word 327, used to  
     connect words in apposition 751

- καὶ γάρ 641  
 κακῶς εἰπεῖν 378  
 καλὸν ὄνειδος 305  
 καρδίαν ἔχειν 1172  
 καρτερεῖν 1370  
 κατάρχεσθαι 1112  
 καταστένω 470  
 καταστέφω 1216  
 κατατείνω 335  
 κατεύχομαι 1186  
 κερτομέω 849  
 κεχαρημένος 200  
 κεχηρημένος 382  
 κέχρησαι 382  
 κλύω, aoristic use of, 94  
 κοινός 845  
 κομίζω *keep safe* 1205  
 κόρη 164  
 κράτος ἔχειν for κρατεῖν 472  
 κροκάλλαι 210  
 Κύκλωπες 152  
 κώπη *fleet* 1322
- λειμών 1453  
 λέκτρα 545  
 λελογισμένος 386, 922  
 λελογισμένως 1021  
 λευκός of water 1294  
 λέχος 1355, in the sense of *wife* 103  
 λῆμα 1421  
 Λυδοί 786  
 λύνειν *to put an end to* 1268
- μακρός 595  
 μαρμαίρω with dat. 1154  
 μάτερ 1279  
 μέλας of water 1294  
 μέλλω, absolute use of the participle of, 1355  
 μέμονε 1495  
 μὲν οὖν 1537  
 μεταβολή, musical sense of, 1100  
 μεταπίπτω 502  
 μή and οὐ forming a crasis although a comma intervenes 916  
 μνημην ἔχειν in the sense of *μνησθῆναι mention* 1103  
 μυθεύσαι 789  
 μυθέω 789
- ναυλοχέω 249  
 νεανίας as a trisyllable 615  
 νεᾶνις 164  
 νεοθαλεῖ 188  
 νικᾶν with cognate acc. 1249  
 νιν = αὐτό 552  
 νόμος 694
- ξανθαὶ κόμαι 681  
 ξυνίσταθ' 54
- ὄδε 72  
 ὄξος 201  
 ὄθι for οὐ, οὐ in a temporal sense 547  
 ὄθι used of circumstances 547  
 οἰκεῖν 1508  
 οἰκεῖν οἶκον 331  
 Οἰνώνη ancient name of Aegina 699  
 οἶσθ' οὖν δ' δρᾶσον 725  
 ὄμμα 455, 1238  
 ὄνειδος 305  
 ὄνομα 910  
 ὀνομάζω 1066  
 ὀξύς 5  
 ὀπίσω 38  
 ὀπλοφόρους 190  
 ὄπλων poetic for ὀπλίτων 374  
 ὄπλων ἄνακτες 1260  
 ὀρθιος 94  
 ὀρθοῦσθαι 24  
 ὀρῶ, absolute use of, 1122  
 οὐ instead of μή 995  
 οὐ negating both a μέν and a δέ clause 396  
 οὐ δὴ used of time 97  
 οὐδέ γε 308  
 οὐκέτι for *now...not* 1360
- παγῆναι 394  
 παρὰ 397, 1436  
 παρὰ in comp. 981  
 παρεπάλλετο 226  
 Πάρις 1291  
 παρῳδός 1147  
 πέδον 91  
 πείθειν ὥστε 1211  
 πείθεσθαι with the gen. 726  
 Πελασγία 1498  
 πέμπω 119, 1110

πένθος 1442  
 πεπρωμένος *eis* 882  
 περί 215, 1157  
 περίβολος *as adj.* 1477  
 Περσέως 1500  
 πεύκη 39  
 πικρός 678, 955, 1316  
 πίπτειν *eis* 1280  
 πλάγιος 332  
 πλάτη 236  
 πόθεν 1235  
 πολυπλόκοις 196  
 πομπή 1324  
 πόρος, *gen. with,* 356  
 πράγμα 1202  
 πράγματα 366  
 πράσσειν = *machinari* 1105  
 πρῖν, *used for instead of,* 1458  
 πρό 36  
 πρόθυμα 1311  
 πρὸς *in view of* 1343  
 πρὸς 1019  
 προσῆκε 824  
 προσιστάμενον 23  
 προσουδίζειν 1151  
 πρόσω 919  
 πρόσωπον 1091  
 προτέλεια 718  
 προτελείσθαι 433  
 προτελίζω 433  
 πρόφασιν 362  
 πρόφασις 1434  
 προχύται 1112  
 πτάμενος *as a subs.* 796  
 πωλικός 613  
  
 σαφής 560  
 σέβω 824  
 Σείριος 7  
 σειροφόρος 223  
 σεμνός 996  
 σεμνύνομαι 901  
 σιγαί *in the plural* 10  
 σκηνή 1  
 σκοπεῖν 674  
 σοι, *dat. of the person judging,* 1109  
 σοφίζομαι 744  
 σπαράσσειν 1458  
 σπέρμα 520

σπουδάζειν ἐπὶ τινι 902  
 στέλλειν 178, 1328  
 στένω 470, *gen. with,* 370  
 σύλλογος 1545  
 συνάπτω 58, 105  
 σύνεδρος 192  
 συνετός εἰμι *with acc.* 1255  
 συννυμφόκομον 48  
 σύντονος 118  
 σύριγγες 1085  
 σχῆμα Ἀλκμανικόν 196  
 σῶμα 1417  
  
 Τάνταλος son of Thyestes 1149  
 τείνειν μακράν 420  
 τειχέων 15  
 τέλη 990  
 τίθημι *for ποιέω* 1405  
 τις 884  
 τλ *making position* 1351  
 τὸ μηδέν 945  
 τὸ πολὺ *for οἱ πολλοί* 1357  
 τὸ στερόμενον = τὸ στέρεσθαι 889  
 τότε *referring to some well-remembered occasion* 46  
 τὸ χρῆζον *a periphrasis for desire* 1017  
 τροφαί 561  
 τροφός 169  
 τρυφᾶν ἐπὶ 1304  
 τυγχάνει *for ἐστὶ* 1138  
 τυγχάνειν, *omission of the participle with,*  
     730  
 Τυνδαρέου 593  
 τυχῶν 958  
  
 ὑπ- 507  
 ὑπῆλθεν 444  
 ὑπόροφος 1204  
  
 φατίζω 936  
 φέρεσθαι 1383  
 φερνή 47  
 φιλοτιμία 22, 527  
 φιλότιμον, τὸ, 342, 385  
 φιλότιμος 22  
 φυσᾶν 381  
 Φοίβη 50  
 -φορος 596  
 φράσσω 826

φρονεῖν 924

φῶς 1063

χαλκεο-, compounds in, 1042

χάρις 555, 1222

χειρ ἄκρα 951

χέρνιψ 1112

χθών or γῆ used instead of πῶλις 1070

χρεών, τὸ, 1332

χρῆν instead of χρῆ 1199

χρόνω 640

χρυσεο-, compounds in, 1042

ῶ with nom. 1335

ῶδ' used figuratively 1235

-φδός 1147

ῶς 469, otiose 1342

ῶς for εἶ ἴσθι ῶς 1367



# INDEX

## TO SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN THE EXPLANATORY NOTES.

N.B. *The numbers refer to the verses of the play.*

- adjectival gen. 1230
- adjective formed from a proper name 391
- adverbial phrases 379, 408
- Argos 242
- article used as a vocative, for the pron. of the 2nd pers. 619
- 'asides' 1140
- Aulis 88; detention of Greek fleet at, *ib.*
- ceremonies preliminary to sacrifice 1112
- change from acc. to dat. 492
- change in the middle of the line of the person addressed 685
- character, Spartan 517
- conditional clause suppressed 1256
- dative, local 1323; of effective accompaniment 80, 82; of person judging 1109
- dowry 869
- education 558, 710
- election of sovereigns 85
- enallage 1266
- Ennius 138, 329, 384, 446
- Eubulus 370
- Euripus 88
- genitive 20, of definition 1347, of goal 816
- hendiadys 354, 1284
- historic present 245, 399
- infinitive, imperative use of, 403
- Molus 201
- Mycenae 242
- negative far from the word it negatives 1108
- neuter participle used for the verbal noun 889, 1017
- Olympus 576
- oxymoron 305
- Palamedes 198
- Paris 1291
- past tense used of state still continuing 404
- patronymic adjectives 49
- plur. of 2nd pers. used in addressing one person 1368
- 'position' 68, 1160, 1351
- preposition implied with the first of two nouns, when only the second has it 210, 1085
- 'Rhesus' 613
- sing. and plur. of 1st pers. used indiscriminately 834
- stage devices 801, 1098, 1115
- Timanthes, picture by, 1550
- tnesis 11
- tribrach in the fifth foot of a trimeter iambic 844
- trochaic metre, character of, 317, 855
- wedding of Peleus and Thetis 1036

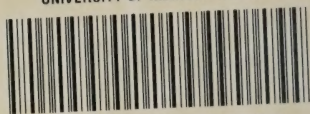








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